A GENERAL HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE

Death of King WILLIAM III.

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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

AFTER the death of queen Elizabeth, the council proclamed James the Sixth of Scotland king, and ſent a meſſage to him to notify his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, which as ſoon as he had advice of, he prepared to ſet out for London, in the interim confirming the lord keeper and all the great officers of the crown in their places during pleaſure. He was received with the loudeſt acclamations by the people as ſoon as he entered England, and was ſurrounded by crowds of them, who poured forth ejaculations for his health, and the proſperiry of his reign.

James, who was proud of being deſcended from the ancient Scottiſh kings of Iriſh race, was not a little

proud of that circumſtance, which gave him a double claim to the kingdom of Ireland, and indeed rendered the Iriſh more blameable whenever they oppoſed his government.

Yet this they began to do virtually, as ſoon as his ſucceſſion was notified to them, which Cox attributes to the determination the univerſity of Valadolid ſent over of the queſtion, Whether an Iriſh papiſt ought to obey or aſſiſt a proteſtant king? And which they are ſaid to have given in the negative. However that be, not to detain the reader with tedious proteſtations, he muſt underſtand that it was not without difficulty that king James was even proclaimed in Ireland;—and notwithſtanding the abſolute ſubmiſſion of Tyrone, Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, and many other cities, reſtored the catholic religion by force. Indeed the behaviour of the firſt of theſe was ſuch as might give cauſe to ſuſpect they meant to ſet up for themſelves; for they refuſed to proclaim the king, and would not ſuffer any body elſe to do ſo, intercepting his majeſty's ſtores, and committing open hoſtilities againſt his ſervants; ſlighting both the kindneſs and menaces of the lord deputy, Montjoy, (whom James had continued in his office) and making as if they would be willing to join in a confederacy to ſhake off his authority.—In ſhort, their obſtinancy at laſt obliged the lord deputy to enter their city in a hoſtile manner, and to execute a few of the moſt ſeditious among them; which being done, he put ſufficient garriſons, both into Cork and Waterford, and forced the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance, and to renounce all foreign dependencies. Then he iſſued a proclamation of indemnity and oblivion.——After this being made a privy counſellor in England, he left the country, taking with him the earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnel,

nel, both of whom were well received and even highly honoured at the Engliſh court.

The latter being created earl of Tyrconnel, Neal Garuffe, his competitor, who had done ſome ſervices to the Engliſh, but was a man of a ſavage and inſolent diſpoſition, was highly offended with the Engliſh for the honour done to his adverſaries; but whatever he had done for the government, yet it does not ſeem that at this period they ſtood much in fear of what he could do againſt them.

Montjoy being departed to England, Sir Arthur Chicheſter was ſworn lord deputy, who found enough to do to trim the balance between the bigotted Catholics. and their violent oppoſers.—— The credit of the former, however, ſuffered both in England and Ireland, more from that unaccountable plot of the fifth of November, than from any of the enormities which they had been fairly convicted of in either of thoſe kingdoms.— It is the nature of man to be pleaſed with any thing aſtoniſhing; and things which are aſtoniſhingly *dreadful* for that reaſon ſeldom fail to have a number of believers. But whether this ſtrange plot were a real one or not, it is certain that ſome ſuffered for it in their lives and goods, but infinitely a greater number in their character and reputation.

But there were thoſe who alike deſerved to ſuffer in all theſe; for notwithſtanding the king had publiſhed a commiſſion of grace to eſtabliſh the Iriſh in the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates againſt any claims of the crown &c, yet he was ſoon after informed that there was a conſpiracy on foot between the earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, &c. to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, and deſtroy the lord deputy.

On this information juſtice Sibthorp, and baron Elliot were ſent over to try the accuſed, and as indictments were found againſt them, all that fled were outlawed, James at the ſame time proteſting, as Elizabeth had done before him, that he proſecuted no man merely for religion, but for ſedition and rebellious behaviour, and injuries done to his good ſubjects.

But more miſchief was yet in embryo Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, a young gentlemen who had always appeared favourable to the Engliſh, began open war by ſurpriſing a fort called Culmore, the ſeat of one captain Hart, whom, together with his wife and children, he got into his power by ſtratagem, and threatened them all with death, if it were not delivered, which after ſome diſpute was done accordingly; and after that he and his troops took the town and fortreſs of Derry, and then proceeded to beſiege the caſtle of Lifford.—However, the deputy marching againſt them found them ſufficient employment, and O'Dogharty was ſlain by a random ſhot, after having held out five months againſt the whole Engliſh army.

When James heard of theſe things he was violently incenſed againſt the Iriſh, and amongſt other marks of his diſpleaſure, immediately revived the ſcheme of undertakers or adventurers, parcelling out the lands forfeited to the crown by ſuch as were executed or outlawed, in the ſame manner as had been done in Elizabeth's reign, than which perhaps he could not have given them a greater mortification.

The next thing to be thought on was the calling of a parliament in Ireland, which accordingly was done, but not without ſome difficulty on account of the tenures by which lands were held in that country, and ſtill more on account of the different

different religions and intereſts both of the conſtituents and the candidates at the election.

The members, however, were at laſt returned, of whom an hundred and thirty-five appeared to be proteſtants, and one hundred and one catholics. While in the houſe of lords were the earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, and Clanrickard; the viſcounts of Buttevant, Fermoy, Gormanſtown, Mountgarret, and Tullagh, and the barons of Athenry, Kinſale, Kerry, Slane, Killeen, Delvin, Dunboyn, Houth, Trimletſtown, Poer, Cahir, Dunſany, Louth, Upper Offory, Caſtle Connel, and Inchinquin, beſides twenty-five proteſtant archbiſhops and biſhops; and the members returned to the houſe of commons were in number two hundred and thirty-two, of whom ſix were abſent.

But when they came to the choice of a ſpeaker, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the vice treaſurer, recommended one Sir John Davis, on which the catholics nominated Sir John Everard, who had formerly, been one of the judges of the king's bench, but was removed by his majeſty's orders; then it was likewiſe moved that the houſe ſhould be purged of illegal members; but in anſwer to this laſt Sir Oliver St. John told them, it was always uſual for parliaments to chuſe a ſpeaker firſt, and proceed to the matter of conteſted elections afterwards.

At length it was propoſed that thoſe who were for Sir John Davis ſhould go out, and thoſe who were againſt him ſhould ſtay behind, and by this method of trial he appeared to be duly choſen; nevertheleſs the remaining members after having firſt pretended that they were the real houſe of commons, becauſe they remained within doors, attempted putting Everard in the chair, and then to keep him there by force: at laſt thoſe catho-

lic members ſeparated themſelves from the proteſtant ones, which latter nevertheleſs being approved of by the lord deputy, opened the ſeſſions without them.

And now both parties, but firſt the catholics, tranſmitted complaints of theſe commotions to the Engliſh court. The ſame diſturbances ſtill continued;——even the catholic lords intermeddled in the buſineſs of the lower houſe, and in effect the whole parliament was divided into two oppoſite bodies, one of which refuſed even to ſit to recogniſe the king's title, but recogniſed it in a paper they preſented to the deputy, at the ſame time proteſting againſt any laws that might be paſſed in their abſence, with all which the ſituation of things obliged him to ſit down contented till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known.

And the catholics reſolving that their cauſe ſhould be fully heard, levied a tax upon the people, in order to bear the expences of certain agents whom they deſigned to charge with their affairs, in which having ſucceeded, notwithſtanding a proclamation iſſued againſt the practice, they ſent theſe their envoys over in triumph to England, where James patiently heard, and candidly enough diſcuſſed the matter, which, in order the better to enable him to do, he had ſent an order to the lord deputy perſonally to attend, and to ſubſtitute Dr. Thomas Jones, lord chancellor, and Sir Richard Wingfield, marſhal, lords juſtices in his room.

And now the matter being duly weighed, as both parties had deſired, by the only perſonal authority that either could refer it to, James having called the Iriſh agents before him, on the twenty-firſt of April gave his ſolemn determination in council in the following words:

"My

" My Lords,

" Theſe noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland are called hither this day to hear my concluſion and determination in a cauſe of great conſequence; which hath depended long in trial.——Thus far it hath had formality; for it is a formality that kings hold in all proceſſes of importance; to proceed ſlowly, to give large hearings, and to uſe long debate before they give their ſentence.

" Theſe gentlemen will not deny but that I have lent them my own ears, and have ſhewed both patience and a deſire to underſtand their cauſe at full. It reſteth now that we make a good concluſion after ſo long debate,

" It is a good rule to obſerve three points in all weighty buſineſs: long, and curious debate; grave, and mature reſolution; and ſpeedy execution. The firſt is already paſt; the ſecond is to be performed this day; and the laſt muſt follow as ſoon after as conveniently may be.

" I promiſed to theſe noblemen and gentlemen of the recuſant party of parliament, juſtice with favour; let them ſee whether I have performed my promiſe. Sure I am, but for performance of that promiſe, I ſhould not have given ſuch a patient hearing, nor made ſuch a curious ſearch into the cauſes of their complaints; neither ſhould I make ſuch a concluſion as I am now likely to make of this buſineſs.

" In the ſearch (though I doubted not of the honour and juſtice of the lord deputy's government) yet I dealt not with him as with my ſervant, not as with one of the moſt unreprovable governors that ever was in that kingdom (as ſome of yourſelves have acknowledged him to be to myſelf) but as with a party; but after the commiſſioners had heard all that could be alledged againſt

againſt him; I found him indeed a faithful ſervant by their certificate, which was *concluſio in cauſâ.*

" The gentlemen I ſent were ſuch as no exception could be taken againſt them; ſome were never there before, ſome ſo long ſithence *rerum facies fuit mutata* ſince they lived in that kingdom.

" It reſts in me to ſet down my concluſion; but before I declare my judgment, I will ſpeak of ſome things offered by you the recuſant half body, which are called parliament-recuſants;—I have heard of church-recuſants, but not of parliament-recuſants;—this difference was never before heard of.

" Firſt, The letter you ſent unto me, in the beginning of the parliament, was full of pride and arrogance, wanting much of the reſpect which ſubjects owe to their ſovereign.

" Now if I ſhould do you juſtice, I ſhould take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles which our attorney laid open unto you; then ſhall you ſee your caſe.

" For you made offer, That if you failed to prove any one point of that which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all; yet have you ſcarce proved a word true; but on the other ſide, almoſt every point hath been proved contrary.

" Of *fourteen* returns whereof you complain, but *two* have proved falſe, and in the government nothing hath proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven.

" But commonly offenders are moſt bold to make offers of their innocency, for they (being in a paſſion) begin in heat and continue in heat; but when they ſee themſelves in the glaſs of their own vanity, they find their error. And this I have found in my own experience in Scotland, and ſince my coming hither.

" Now

" Now I will divide my ſpeech into two parts; touching the offences done by you, and your complaints againſt the ſtate and government

" To the firſt: An unuſual favour was offered you by my deputy; for he ſent for you, and adviſed you to conſider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your anſwer ſhould haveqeen humble thanks upon your knees; but you neglected that favour, and anwered by your agent, in the name of the reſt, That you would firſt be made acquainted with ſuch bills as the deputy and council there had reſolved to tranſmit.

" Before the parliament, there was ſent to me by a few men, a letter raſh and inſolent, That nothing ſhould be purſued in parliament, but you ſhould be acquainted with it; and withal, threatening me with rebellion, in a ſtrange faſhion with ſimilitudes unſavoury and unmannerly, and unfit to be preſented to any monarch; and after that you did nothing but heap complaint upon complaint till the parliament was ſat down.

" The parliament being ſat, you went on with a greater contempt; there were in the lower houſe two bodies and but one head; a greater monſter than two heads upon one body. And whereas you ſhould have made an humble and dutiful anſwer to the commendation which I made of a ſpeaker; you, the recuſant party, (being the fewer) when the greater number went out to be numbered, ſhut the door and thruſt one into the chair as a ſpeaker *manu forti*. After this the recuſants of both houſes depart from the parliament. The like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any other kingdom of Chriſtendom.

" Then came petitions to the deputy, of a body without a head, a headleſs body; you would be afraid to meet ſuch a body in the ſtreets. A body without a head to ſpeak! Nay, half a body! What a monſter were this! A very bugbear!

Methinks

Methinks you that would have a viſible body head of the church over all the earth, and acknowledge a temporal head under Chriſt, ye may likewiſe acknowledge my viceroy or deputy of Ireland.

" Then did the deputy give you warning to come to the parliament, to paſs the bill of recognition, but that you put it off with tricks and ſhifts, which thing I will urge no farther. But why ſhould the lords refuſe to come? They had no colour for abſenting themſelves, having nothing to do with the orders or diſorders of the lower houſe? The lords here and the lower houſe are as great ſtrangers in thoſe matters as the parliament houſes of Spain and France. Neither had the recuſants of the lower houſe any juſt cauſe of defection, ſince an indifferent committee was offered to them.

" This was ſuch an ill example, and ſuch a crime, to refuſe to appear at the king's ſummons, as if you ſhall adviſe with lawyers upon it, I know not what it may import. After this, hither you come, and only your appeal to me hath inclined me to mercy; yet I ſpeak not this to encourage your complaints to be brought hither, when the deputy and ſtate may determine them, though that being a matter of parliament was fit for the king's hearing, and your appeal hath been heard and heard *uſque ad nauſeam.*

" And whereas it ſhould have wrought humility and thanks; the fruit hath been that (I will not ſay in a prepoſterous) but in a rebellious manner, you have heaped complaints upon complaints, and petitions upon petitions, not warranted with any truth, to make the more noiſe; whereas you ſhould have looked back to your own miſcarriage.

" Then

" Then I ſent commiſſioners to examine, as well the bye as the main buſineſs which you firſt preſented to be the cauſe of your appealing to me; but, inſtead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which, becauſe the council here have already anſwered, I will not ſpeak of. Now if you look back to you own miſcarriage and my lenity, you ſhall find that your carriage hath been moſt undutiful and unreaſonable, and in the next degree to treaſon, and that you have nothing to fly to but to my grace.

" The lower houſe here in England doth ſtand upon its privileges as much as any council in Chriſtendom; yet if ſuch a difference had ariſen there, they would have gone on with my ſervice notwithſtanding, and not have broken up their aſſembly upon it. You complain of fourteen falſe returns; are there not many more complained of in this parliament? Yet they do not forſake the houſe for it.

" Now, for your complaints touching parliament mattters; I find no more amiſs in this parliament than in the beſt parliament in the world. Eſcapes and faults in ſheriffs there may be, yet not that proved; or if it had been proved, no cauſe to ſtay the parliament;—all might have been ſet right by an ordinary courſe of trial, to which I muſt refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs: therein I would fain feel your pulſe, for yet I find not out where the ſhoe wrings.

" For firſt, you queſtion the power of the king whether he may lawfully make them: and then you queſtion the wiſdom of the king and his council, in that you ſay, there are too many made, it was never before heard that any good ſubject did diſpute the king's power in this point.—What is it to you whether I make many or few Boroughs? my council may conſider the fitneſs, if I re-

I require it. But, what if I make forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? the more the merrier, the fewer the better chear.

But this complaint, as you made it, was prepoſterous, for in contending for a committee before you agreed on a ſpeaker, did put the plough before the horſe ſo as it went on untowardly like your Iriſh ploughs; but becauſe the eye of the maſter maketh the horſe fat, I have uſed my own eyes in taking a view of thoſe boroughs, and have ſent a liſt of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs, except one or two to be as good as the old, comparing Iriſh boroughs new, with Iriſh boroughs old (for I will not ſpeak of the boroughs of other countries) and yet (beſides the neceſſity of making them) like to increaſe and grow better daily; beſides I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and thoſe erected in fit places near forts or paſſages, for the ſafety of the county. Methinks you that ſeek the good of that kingdom ſhould be glad of it.

I have cauſed London alſo to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted will be a great ſecurity to that part of the kingdom, therefore you quarrel with that which may bring peace to the country.—For the perſons returned out of thoſe boroughs you complain they have no reſidence; if you had ſaid they have no intereſt, it had been ſomewhat, but moſt of them have intereſt in the kingdom, and *qui habent intereſſe*, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

I ſeek not, *emendicata ſuffragia*, ſuch boroughs as have been made ſince the ſummons, are wiped away at one word for this time. I have tryed that and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, muſt not look to be the only lawmakers, you that are but half ſubjects ſhould have

but

but half privileges: you that have an eye to me one way and to the pope another; (nay the pope is your father *in ſpiritualibus* and I *in temporalibus* only, and ſo you have your bodies torn one way and your ſouls drawn another,) you that ſend your children to the ſeminaries of treaſon, ſtrive henceforth to become *full* ſubjects that you may have *cor unum* and *viam unam*, and then I ſhall reſpect you all alike; but your Iriſh prieſts teach you ſuch grounds of doctrines, as you cannot follow them with a ſafe conſcience, but you muſt caſt off your loyalty to your king.

Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loth to ſpend breath in them. If you charge the inferiour miniſters of the country, all countries are ſubject to ſuch grievances, but if you charge the deputy and ſtate, *nihil probatur:* indeed I hear (not from you, but from others) there is one thing grievous to the country, that notwithſtanding the compoſition eſtabliſhed in the provinces, the governors there do ſend out their purveyors, who take up their achates and other proviſion upon the country, if this had been complained of to the deputy, or to me, it had been reformed;—the deputy himſelf at Dublin doth not grieve the country with any ſuch burden.

Another thing there is that grieveth the people which is, that in the country where there is half peace and half war, the ſheriff and ſoldiers in their paſſage do commit many extortions.

For theſe grievances I myſelf will call the deputy unto me, and ſet down ſuch orders in this time of vacation, as theſe abuſes ſhall be redreſſed and clear taken away; and if any ſuch diſorder be ſuffered hereafter, it ſhall be only for fault of complaining: and becauſe the meaner ſort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have ſuch gentlemen of the country, as are of beſt credit to

preſent

preſent complaints, which they may do in ſuch manner, as the parties who prefer the complaint may not be known.

"There is a double cauſe why I ſhould be careful of the welfare of that people:——Firſt, as king of England, by reaſon of the long poſſeſſion the crown of England hath had of that land, and alſo as king of Scotland; for the ancient kings of Scotland are deſcended from the kings of Ireland, ſo as I have an old title as king of Scotland therefore you ſhall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, ſo as you will proceed without clamour.

"Moreover, my care hath been, that no acts ſhould be perfered that ſhould be grievous to that people; and to that end I peruſed them all except one, but I ſaw not, till of late, that is now out of doors, for I proteſt I have been more careful for the bills to be paſſed in that Parliament than in the parliament of England.

"Laſtly, For imputations that may ſeem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him, but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath diſcharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confeſſed ſo to me; and I find your complaints againſt him and the ſtate, to be but cauſeleſs expoſtulations.

"To conclude; my ſentence is, That in the matter of parliament, you have carried yourſelves tumultuarily and undutifully, and that your proceedings have been made, diſorderly and inexcuſable, and worthy of ſevere puniſhment, which, by reaſon of your ſubmiſſion I do forbear, but not remit, 'till I ſee your dutiful carriage in this parliament; where, by your obedience to the deputy and ſtate, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your bypaſt miſcarriage; and then you may deſerve not only pardon but favour and cheriſhing."

And

And ſo they were all diſmiſſed, and the lord deputy had O'Dogharty's eſtate in Iniſower given him, and was ſent back to Ireland, where he was ordered to hold a parliament. A. D. 1614.

Accordingly he ſummoned one on the eleventh of October that year, as hoping that all cauſe of diſputes would now be at an end, nevertheleſs, the recuſants found out one of no leſs importance than, That the lord of Shane ought to take place of the lord of Kerry.—This matter was heard and re-heard; but yet was not ended till the earls of Suffolk, Lenox, Worceſter, and Pembroke, who executed the marſhal's office in England, declared the lord of Kerry's claim to be valid. And then the parliament proceeded to buſineſs, and at laſt paſſed the following acts:

I. An act of recognition, reciting, that Ireland, which before his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown had been ſubject to continued rebellions, rapines, and oppreſſions, was, by his majeſty's gracious government, reduced to better order, and that he had eſtabliſhed his government in the hearts of his people, by the general proclamation of oblivion, and ſuppreſſing actions for treſpaſſes done in the war between ſubject and ſubject, at his firſt coming by his ſpecial charters of pardon, by name, freely granted to many thouſands, by remitting many great debts, arrears of rent, and forfeitures, and by ſtrengthening defective titles; and re-granting the lands to them on ſurrenders; by erecting court-houſes, and enlarging the number of the judges, and by putting a civil plantation in the forfeited parts of Ulſter (formerly the neſt of rebellion) to the great ſecurity of the commonwealth.

II. An act, that all the crimes committed on the ſea, or within the juriſdiction of the admiralty, ſhould be tried in any county, according to the

rules of the common law, by commiſſion to the admiral or his deputy, and three or four more, or any four of them.

III. An act for taking away benefit of clergy in certain caſes.

IV. An act for the attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, and others.

V. An act to repeal ſome former ones prohibiting trade and commerce with the Iriſh enemies, or to marry and foſter with them, and commanding to ſeize them as ſpies.

VI. An act of repeal of a former ſtatute againſt bringing in, retaining, or marrying with Scots.

VII. An act for repairing and mending highways and cauſeways, &c.

VIII. An act for avoiding private and ſecret outlawries.

IX. An act of oblivion and general pardon.

X. An act for one ſubſidy (which amounted to ſomewhat more than twenty-ſix thouſand pounds.)

Which acts being paſſed, the parliament was prorogued.—And the ſame year a convocation was held at Dublin; wherein the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, in the year ſixteen hundred and fifty-five, amongſt many others were eſtabliſhed.

Cox. Several catholic lawyers were at this time forbidden to practiſe, on account of their demeaning themſelves in ſuch a manner as was diſagreeable to government. This was the next complaint that troubled the public tranquility; and on their behalf the lord of Kylline and Sir Chriſtopher Plunket petitioned the lords and council of England, obſerving, That the ſtatute 2. Elizabeth did not extend to lawyers.—That theſe men had ſpent their time and fortune in ſtudy, and were very uſeful in cauſing the people to embrace the laws of England, which were ſo valuable

luable in compariſon of the Brehon law. That the ſtatute 2 Eliz. was illegally executed, the fees being five times the penalty of that ſtatute, &c.—That the judges of aſſize enquired into all forfeitures ſince the laſt aſſize, whereas there were ſeſſions intervening, wherein, perhaps, the party having been already puniſhed, might yet by this inquiſition be puniſhed over again for the ſame fault. That miniſters exacted money for marriages and chriſtenings, though they did not officiate, and that beſides the ordinances exacted great ſums for commutation of penance; in all which articles the complainants beſought redreſs and relief.

Towards the end of this ſummer, a commiſſion was ſent over under the great ſeal of England, impowering the lord deputy and others to bargain for any of the king's lands or tenements, ſpiritual or temporal, within the kingdom of Ireland, on which many people took out patents; and the patentees had free liberty to tranſport the produce of their land to any part of England or Wales, and had beſides a clauſe of exoneration from ceſs, coigne and livery, and ſuch like cuſtoms and impoſitions, the royal corporations and riſings-out only excepted.

As this was the ſeaſon for plots, another dangerous one is ſaid to have been diſcovered to Sir Thomas Philips, by one Teig O'Lenan, the deſign of which was to ſeize Charlemont, and other forts in Ulſter, and to murder the proteſtants there and elſewhere, and on the evidence of this man ſeveral perſons were convicted. The catholics ſay that the evidence was ſuborned by the governor, whilſt on the other hand, the proteſtants aſſert that Brian O'Neal and Roger O'Cahan, two of the culprits confeſſed the fact for which they had

ſuffered, in nearly the ſame terms with thoſe in which Lenan related it.

Be that as it may, it is certain the Iriſh never had leſs cauſe to lay plots, or break out into ſedition and rebellion, than in the preſent reign. If ſome of the former princes had indeed ruled them with a rod of iron, James ſeemed reſolved to ſway them with a golden ſcepter. Deſcended as he was from the ancient princes of Ireland, who derived their origin from the illuſtrious tribe of Dalriadas, we find him every where boaſting his lineage; and whereas other Engliſh ſovereigns had ſtrove to ſuppreſs the very name of Iriſhman, and endeavoured to load them with many diſadvantages, James ſeemed willing that they ſhould ſhare in every juſt privilege with his Engliſh ſubjects, and be united with them in a brotherly love and amity. Nor did he ſtop merely at *words*; for notwithſtanding the undutiful behaviour of the members of this parliament we find ſome acts paſſed there in their favour (the bills not of *their* own propounding) and the ſeſſions, maugre all the animoſity which ſeemed to reign at the beginning of it, concluded in ſuch a manner as could not but give any rational beings ſatisfaction.

When the old natives of Ireland made up at firſt an entire body, ſeparate from the Engliſh Pale, when they ſent no members to parliament, when they were denied all privileges, and oppreſſed by conquerors who had not yet ſubdued one fourth part of their country, it is not wonderful to ſee them riſing upon ſlight occaſions, and to obſerve multitudes of them miſled by their chiefs, burning, maſſacring and deſtroying out of a mere ſpirit of miſguided patriotiſm, and contending for the ſucceſſion of their ancient princes

princes, through miſplaced loyalty, when yet thoſe princes were allowed to rule as ſuch, provided they ſuffered their nominal ſubjects to be oppreſſed by the great Engliſh lords of the Pale, who had their own private intereſt often too much in view to attend to that of their own king and country, much leſs to reſpect the lives and properties of the untutored natives of Ireland.—While theſe things were ſo, the Iriſh were not without excuſes, which would admit of argument in their favour; and the executions and other puniſhments inflicted upon them in thoſe earlier days, in which ſome Engliſh writers triumph, I own, have rather excited my pity, as I ſhould think it muſt that of any one who will diveſt himſelf of unworthy prejudices, and liſten to the dictates of mercy and humanity.—And for this reaſon it is that I have hitherto been abundantly cautious in the courſe of this hiſtory how I charged men with imputed crimes, or ſtigmatiſed them with odious appellations for following what might appear to have the ſpecious colouring of juſtice, or oppoſing when oppreſſed, a government which they could ſcarcely conſider as perfectly eſtabliſhed among them.

But now the caſe was quite altered;—a king of their own ſtock, and, whatever were his defects, a gracious king to them, had eſtabliſhed the Iriſh government upon a proper baſis; and laid the foundation of a juſt and legal dependance upon the Engliſh crown. Every diſobedient action committed after this æra muſt certainly have in it the true nature of treaſon, and therefore I think no man of any party can with juſtice blame me for the future, when after this reign I diſtinguiſh all illegal combinations for ſuch purpoſes by the name of REBELLION, and term all thoſe REBELS who are found to have any concern with them.

Chicheſter, the lord deputy, was a man of great underſtanding and moderation. Situate as things were in Ireland, he could not but diſcern that religion was the the chief pretext of the catholics for contending againſt the government; whilſt, on the other hand he ſaw a body of men increaſing continually in power and reputation, who were one day fated to overturn the ſtate, to deluge all the three kingdoms with blood, and to throw them all alike into anarchy and confuſion. Theſe were the Puritans.—In Queen Elizabeth's reign they had been kept under, for fear of ſharing in the ſame puniſhment, which at pleaſure ſhe inflicted upon the papiſts; and it is fear alone that can keep ſome minds in awe. Theſe Puritans reſembling much the firſt reformers, were of a ſevere and obſtinate diſpoſition; they were illiberal and vindictive, gloomy and reſerved, and attached to their own particular ſect and perſuaſion, with a zeal which equalled at leaſt, if it did not exceed that of the moſt bigotted papiſts. The connexion of England and Scotland which was eſtabliſhed by the acceſſion of James to the throne, occaſioned an intercourſe between the fanatics of both nations, and the nature of the government conſidered, it was not wonderful that they ſhould ſpread in Ireland likewiſe. The lord deputy found theſe men as ready to complain againſt government as the others had been, though from contrary motives. If the papiſts thought the Catholic religion too much oppreſſed, the puritans aſſerted that it was too much encouraged. They clamoured againſt the indulgence ſhewn to the catholics in the matter of diſtributing the lands in Ulſter; they complained that thoſe who had always been enemies to the ſtate ſhould be at all favoured or intruſted; they were loud in their requiſitions that the laws againſt popiſh recuſants

cuſants ſhould be put in execution; in effect, they blamed the mild government of Chicheſter, and would fain have urged him once more to renew the ſcene of blood and confuſion from which Ireland had been ſo lately delivered. But the lord deputy was too ſteady in the purſuit of the plan which he had laid down, and which had hitherto anſwered his purpoſe as well as he could poſſibly expect; and though he had enemies among all parties, who ſtrove to miſrepreſent his actions both to king James, and to thoſe whom he governed: yet he had the happineſs to be approved of by his prince, aud to have his conduct well underſtood and applauded by all good and ſenſible men in both kingdoms.

Accordingly, paſſing over into England to give an account of his adminiſtration, he was moſt favourably received by James, and created baron of Belfaſt, on the twenty-third of February, in the year ſixteen hundred and fifteen, when Thomas Jones, and Sir John Denham were ſworn lords juſtices in Ireland, the latter of whom was the firſt that improved the cuſtoms in Ireland, which when farmed were lett for five hundred pounds the firſt year, but before his death their value amounted to no leſs than fifty-four thouſand pounds, an aſtoniſhing increaſe in the ſpace of eighteen years, for he died on the ſixth day of January, in the year ſixteen hundred and thirty-eight.

But in the Auguſt following the new lord deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, arrived and was ſworn lord deputy, who does not ſeem to have copied his predeceſſor's moderation, nevertheleſs it appears that the catholics were rather troubleſome in his time, inveighing againſt the proteſtant government, and reviving the old queſtion about

the king's ſupremacy, on account of which he is ſaid to have impriſoned ninety citizens of Dublin.

And now no magiſtrates or officers were ſuffered who would not take the oath of ſupremacy; ——the catholics had their regulars baniſhed, and Sir William Jones, lord chief juſtice, ſeized on the liberties of Waterford, becauſe Nicholas White, the mayor refuſed this oath (which, however, was not tendered him till he had been in that office above a year,) and then the city electing John Skiddy, he alſo refuſed that oath, and Alexander Cuffe did the ſame, ſo that at length Walter Cleer was ſworn mayor, who continued in the office; neither had the city any recorder ſince the death of Nicholas Walſh, in the year ſixteen hundred and ſixteen; all which things were found by inquiſition; nevertheleſs, perhaps, theſe ſeverities at that time had been better omitted.

The lord deputy being complained of, a commiſſion was ſent over to examine into the cauſe of ſuch complaints, and thoſe who were appointed for this purpoſe wiſely judging that little redreſs of grievances could be had whilſt the accuſed party continued in power, procured a ſucceſſor to be named; and after much diſpute about the matter, he was alſo re-called. However, he found means to make his cauſe good, or to make it appear ſo, and beſides being loaded with honour had two hundred and thirty pounds allowed him to defray the charge of his voyage to England.

Adam Loftus, viſcount Ely, and Richard Wingfield, viſcount Powerſcourt were ſworn lords juſtices on the fourth day of May, and ſoon after received a letter from his majeſty, ordering them to allow the new lord deputy, Falkland, his full entertainment, and all requiſites from the day that the other ſurrendered the ſword, deducting for

for themſelves the ſum of two thouſand pounds per annum, till he receive the ſword, which was done accordingly.

Henry Cary, viſcount Falkland, was ſworn on the eighth of September, ſixteen hundred and twenty-two, at which time biſhop Uſher preached a ſermon on a ſubject he had better not have meddled with. In the latter end of the reign ſome ſeverities were practiſed againſt the papiſts, which they failed not to remember at a proper opportunity. And at this juncture died James the Sixth of Scotland, and the Firſt of England, who was a prince of more talents than judgement, and of greater ſchool-learning than policy or underſtanding.

The only ſurviving ſon of James aſcended the throne, on the death of his father, by the title of Charles the Firſt, who was undoubted heir to the crown, and who ſeemed to have, together with an unconteſted title, every advantage that could be hoped for, to adorn and ſecure his royal eſtate; yet indeed it was far otherwiſe; for almoſt from the beginning, plans were laid to ruin his government.—The Puritans in England, who had been increaſing in number, wealth, and power, all the laſt reign, now formed a very conſiderable body, ſuch as threatened to diſturb the peace of the nation, which indeed they quite deſtroyed in the ſequel, while the catholics in Ireland were meditating a plan which at laſt broke out into open rebellion. Charles I.

Henry, viſcount Falkland, was continued lord deputy, who had many diſputes with the chancellor, in which it ſeems the court thought the latter was in fault, and iſſued orders accordingly.

Amongſt many other complaints of a more private nature, was one made by the lord Courcy,

That

That Sir Dominic Scarsfield had obtained the title of lord viſcount Kinſale, which being referred to the lord preſident by the council, the ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Totneſs, viſcount Grandiſon, and chancellor of the dutchy, they reported that the lord Courcy and his anceſtors were lords Courcy and barons of Kinſale and Ringrone. And thereupon the defendant endeavoured to carry the barony to another line, and alſo alledged an attainder, but he could not ſupport either of his pleas. After that he propoſed that one ſhould be baron, and the other viſcount Kinſale; but this propoſal was rejected, and his majeſty ordered, That Sir Dominic ſhould relinquiſh the title of Kinſale, but ſhould ſtill retain the dignity of a viſcount, only chuſing out ſome other name whereby to denominate his honour;—andaccordingly he was afterwards made lord viſcount Killmallock.

At this time ſome deſigns were ſet on foot to encourage a more tolerant ſpirit in religion, and to engage the catholics more willingly to contribute to the ſupport of government;—amongſt which were, a plan to ſuffer them to ſue out liveries without taking the oath of ſupremacy; and another for ſuſpending all proceedings againſt them for marriage and chriſtening by prieſts, &c. But this deſign was ſo violently oppoſed by the proteſtant archbiſhops and biſhops, thas it came to nothing.——A proteſt which they had drawn up was read to his congregation by Downham, biſhop of Derry, and was inſtrumental in drawing on a remonſtrance from the houſe of commons in England, That the popiſh religion was publicly profeſſed in every part of Ireland, and that monaſteries and nunneries were there newly erected, and repleniſhed with votaries of both ſexes, which would be of evil conſequences, unleſs

leſs ſeaſonably repreſſed. But, notwithſtanding all this, the king granted them ſome indulgence, on account of their agents having conſented to the payment of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds in three years, and recommended thoſe agents particularly to the favour of the lord deputy, who being afterwards re-called on account of ſome complaints that were preferred againſt him, Adam Loftus, and Richard earl of Cork were ſworn lords juſtices, who began to order proſecutions to be commenced againſt the catholics for not going to church, a practice, which if the caſe had been reverſed would in any other country have been called by the proteſtants a moſt unjuſt and cruel perſecution. But the affair was ſuppreſſed by the wiſdom and goodneſs of Charles, who by that as well as other deeds of indulgence drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the puritans.

The parliament having paſſed many good acts, was now prorogued, after which as a grand inquiſition was to be held, the lord deputy and council made a progreſs into Connaught, to enquire into his majeſty's title to certain lands there. And to prevent the people in general from being too much alarmed at this inquiſition, they publiſhed a declaration, That it was not his majeſty's intention to take any thing from his people that was juſtly theirs, and therefore that thoſe who had effectual patents ſhould have the full benefit of them, as if they were found *verbatim* in the great office then to be taken, provided the patents, or the enrolment thereof were ſhewn to the council before the next Eaſter term, and by them approved to be good and effectual in law." And having done this, they proceeded to find the king's title good to moſt part of that province, where they therefore deſigned to make a great

great Engliſh plantation. But this likewiſe the Iriſh treaſured up in their hearts, and made it afterwards one of their excuſes for rebellion.

Adam Loftus, viſcount Ely, and Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, maſter of the rolls, were ſworn lords juſtices, the deputy going to England to give an account of his adminiſtration; but not long after Thomas, viſcount Wentworth, was appointed lord deputy, in whoſe time the caſe of tenures was argued, but the determination being, That the letters patent were void; ſo alarmed the people, that the execution of it was poſtponed, and at length the king quitted the advantage of it, acting in that caſe as he did in many others, doing juſt enough to provoke people, but never enough to ſubdue them.

Wentworth paſſing to England, in the year, ſixteen hundred and thirty-nine, Robert, lord Dillon, and Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, as lords juſtices took charge of the government till his return, after which the Iriſh parliament meeting in March, granted four entire ſubſidies to the king, and were prorogued in the middle of June, till the month of October following.

On the credit of theſe ſubſidies, and of the public revenue did Wentworth raiſe nine thouſand men, with the laudable intention of ſerving his maſter, and over-awing his rebellious ſubjects.—This faithful ſervice, which in any other place, or perhaps at any other time, would certainly have received the commendation it deſerved, was by a ſtrange perverſion of things, afterwards turned to his detriment, and was one of the cauſes aſſigned for taking away his life, when he was equally meanly and imprudently given up by his maſter.

This lord lieutenant (now earl of Strafford) going over again to England to give an account of

of his government, Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, being made lord deputy, did all that he could to prevent a committee of the Iriſh parliament from following him with a deſign to impeach him in England; nevertheleſs, intent as they were upon doing him an ill office, they contrived to get away privately, and carried their deſign into execution.

The committee was made up of the lords Gormanſtown, Killmallock, Caſtilo, and Baltinglaſs; Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Digby, Sir Richard Fitz Gerald, and Nicholas Barnwall, Sir Hardreſs Waller, John Welſh, Sir Donough Mac Carthy, Robert Lynch, Geoffrey Brown, Thomas Burk, Sir William Cole, and Sir James Montgomery, who were privately encouraged by the diſcontented parliament of England to proſecute the earl, and brought over from that of Ireland the following remonſtrance directed to the deputy.

"That in all ages ſince the happy ſubjection of this kingdom to the imperial crown of England it was and is a principal ſtudy, and princely care of his majeſty and his noble progenitors, kings and queens of England and Ireland, to the vaſt expence of treaſure and blood, that their loyal and dutiful people of this land of Ireland being now for the moſt part derived from Britiſh anceſtors, ſhould be governed according to the municipal and fundamental laws of England; that the ſtatute of Magna Charta, or the great charter of the liberties of England, and other laudable laws and ſtatutes, were in ſeveral parliaments here enacted and declared, that by the means thereof, and of the moſt prudent and benign government of his majeſty and his royal progenitors, this kingdom was, until of late, in its growth a flouriſhing eſtate, whereby the ſaid people were heretofore enabled to anſwer their humble and natural

natural deſires, to comply with his majeſty's princely and royal occaſions, by their free gift of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; and likewiſe by another free gift of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, more during the government of the lord viſcount Falkland, and after the gift of forty thouſand pounds, and their free and chearful gift of ſix intire ſubſidies in the ſixth year of his majeſty's reign; which to comply with his majeſty's then occaſions, ſignified to the houſe of commons, they did allow ſhould amount in the collections unto two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, although (as they confidently believe) if the ſubſidies had been levied in a moderate parliamentary way, they would not have amounted to much more than half the ſum aforeſaid, beſides the four entire ſubſidies granted in this parliament.—So it is, may it pleaſe your lordſhip, by the occaſion of the enſuing and other grievances and innovations, (though to his majeſty no conſiderable profit) this kingdom is reduced to that extreme and univerſal poverty, that the ſame is leſs able to pay ſubſidies than it was heretofore to ſatisfy all the before recited great payments: And his majeſty's moſt faithful people of the land do conceive great fears, that the ſaid grievances and conſequences thereof may be hereafter drawn into precedents to be perpetuated upon their poſterity, which in their great hopes and ſtrong beliefs, they are perſuaded is contrary to his royal and princely intention towards his ſaid people;—ſome of which ſaid grievances are as follow:

" I. The general apparent decay of trade, occaſioned by the new and illegal raiſing of the book of rates and impoſitions upon natives and other commodities, exported and imported; by reaſon whereof, and of extreme uſage and cenſures, merchants

merchants are beggared, and both diſabled and diſcouraged from trade, and ſome of the honourable perſons who gain thereby are often judges and parties; and that, in the concluſion, his majeſty's profit there is not conſiderably advanced.

" II. The arbitrary deciſion of all civil cauſes and controverſies by paper petitions before the lord lieutenant and lord deputy, and infinite other judicatories upon reference from them, derived in the nature of all actions determinable at the common law, not limited into certain time, cauſe ſeaſon or thing whatſoever; and in conſequence of ſuch proceedings, by receiving immoderate and unlawful fees, by ſecretaries clerks, purſuivants, ſerjeants at arms, and otherwiſe; by which kind of proceeding his majeſty loſeth a great part of his revenue upon original writs and otherwiſe; and the ſubject loſeth the benefit of his writ of error, bill of reverſal, vouchers, and other legal and juſt advantages, and the ordinary courſe and courts of juſtice declined.

" III. The proceedings in civil cauſes at council-board, contrary to the law and great charter, not limited to any certain time or ſeaſon.

" IV. That the ſubject is, to all the material parts thereof, denied the benefit of the princely graces, and more eſpecially of the ſtatute of limitation of 24 Jac. granted by his majeſty in the fourth year of his reign, upon great advice of the councils of England and Ireland, and for great conſideration, and then publiſhed in all the courts of Dublin and in all the counties of this kingdom, in open aſſizes, whereby all perſons do take notice, that contrary to his majeſty's pious intentions, his ſubjects of this land have not enjoyed the benefit of his majeſty's princely promiſe thereby made.

" V. The

" V. The extra-judicial avoiding of letters patents of eſtates of a very great part of his majeſty's ſubjects, under the great ſeal of the public faith of the kingdom, by private opinions delivered at the council-board, without legal evictions of their eſtates, contrary to law, and without precedent or example of any former ages.

" VI. The proclamations for the ſole emption and uttering of tobacco, which is bought at very low rates, and uttered at high and exceſſive rates, by means whereof thouſands of families within this kingdom, and of his majeſty's ſubjects in ſeveral iſlands and other parts of the Weſt-Indies, (as your petitioners are informed) are deſtroyed, and the moſt part of the coin of this kingdom is engroſſed into particular hands; inſomuch that your petitioners do conceive, that the profit ariſing and engroſſed thereby doth ſurmount his majeſty's revenue, certain or caſual, within this kingdom; and yet his majeſty receiveth but very little profit by the ſame.

" VII. The univerſal and unlawful increaſing of monopolies, to the advantage of a few, the diſ-profit of his majeſty, and impoveriſhment of his people.

" VIII. And the extreme cruel uſage of certain late commiſſioners, and other ſtewards of the Britiſh farmers and inhabitants of the city and county of Londonderry, by means whereof the worthy plantation of that country is almoſt deſtroyed, and the inhabitants are reduced to great poverty, and many of them forced to forſake the country, the ſame being the firſt and moſt uſeful plantation in the large province of Ulſter; to the great weakening of the kingdom in this time of danger, the ſaid plantation being the principal ſtrength of thoſe parts.

" IX. The late erection of the court of high commiſſion for cauſes eccleſiaſtical in theſe neceſſitous

ceſſitous times; the proceedings of the ſaid court in many cauſes without legal warrant, and yet ſo ſupported as prohibitions have not been obtained, though legally ſought for: And the exceſſive fees exacted by the miniſters thereof, and the encroaching of the ſame upon the juriſdiction of other eccleſiaſtical courts of this kingdom.

" X. The exorbitant fees and pretended cuſtoms exacted by the clergy againſt the law, ſome of which have been formerly repreſented to your lordſhip.

" XI. The petitioners do moſt heartily bemoan that his majeſty's ſervice and profit are much more impaired than advanced by the grievances aforeſaid, and the ſubſidies granted in the laſt parliament having much increaſed his majeſty's revenue, by the buying grants and otherwiſe, and that all his majeſty's debts then due in this kingdom were ſatisfied out of the ſaid ſubſides, and yet his majeſty is of late (as the petitioners have been informed in the houſe of commons) become indebted in this kingdom in great ſums. And they do therefore humbly beſeech, That an exact account may be ſent to his majeſty how and in what manner the treaſure is iſſued.

" XII. The petitioners do humbly conceive juſt and great fears at a proclamation publiſhed in this kingdom, Anno Domini ſixteen hundred and thirty-five, prohibiting men of quality or eſtates to depart this kingdom into England without the lord deputy's licence, whereby the ſubjects of this kingdom are hindered and interrupted from free acceſs to addreſs his ſacred majeſty and privy council of England, to declare their juſt grievances, or to obtain remedies for them, in ſuch ſort as their anceſtors have done in all ages ſince the reign of king Henry the Second; and great fees are exacted for every of the ſaid licences.

" XIII. That of late his majeſty's attorney-general hath exhibited informations againſt many ancient boroughs of this kingdom into his majeſty's court of exchequer, to ſhew cauſe by what warrant the ſaid boroughs (which heretofore ſent burgeſſes to parliament) ſhould ſend burgeſſes to the parliament: And thereupon, for want of an anſwer, the ſaid privileges of ſending burgeſſes were ſeiſed by the ſaid court. Which proceedings were altogether *coram non judice*, and contrary to the laws and privileges of the houſe of parliament, and if way ſhould be given thereunto, would be the ſubverſion of parliament, and by conſequence, to the ruin and deſtruction of the commonwealth. And that the houſe of commons hath hitherto, in this preſent parliament, been deprived of the advice and council of many profitable and good members by means thereof.

" XIV. By the powerfulneſs of ſome miniſters of ſtate in this kingdom, the parliament in its members and actions hath not its natural freedom.

" XV. And laſtly, That the gentry, and merchants, and other his majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom, are of late, by the grievances and preſſures beforeſaid, and other the like, brought very near to ruin and deſtruction: And the farmers of cuſtoms, cuſtomers, waiters, ſearchers clerks of unwarrantable proceedings, purſuivants and gaolers, and ſundry others very much enriched; whereby, and by the ſlow redreſs of the petitioners grievances, his majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful people of this kingdom do conceive great fears, that their readineſs, approved upon all occaſions, hath not been of late rightly repreſented to his ſacred majeſty: For remedy whereof the ſaid petitioners do humbly and of right beſeech your lordſhip, that the ſaid grievances and preſſures may be ſpeedily redreſſed; and if your lordſhip ſhall not think fit to afford preſent relief, that your lordſhip might admit a ſelect committee

of

of this houſe, of perſons unintereſted in the benefit ariſing from the aforeſaid grievances, to be licenſed by your lordſhip to repair to his ſacred majeſty in England, for to purſue the ſame, and to obtain fitting remedy for their aforeſaid and other juſt grievances and oppreſſions: And upon all juſt and honourable occaſions they will, without reſpect of particular intereſt, or proſpect to be raiſed thereby, moſt humbly and readily in parliament extend their utmoſt endeavours to ſerve his majeſty, and comply with his royal and princely occaſions."—

But the lord deputy having notice of this remonſtrance prorogued the Iriſh parliament, and ſoon after died ſuddenly; on which Robert lord Dillon, and Sir William Parſons were ſworn lords juſtices, but the former was removed on account of his intimacy and alliance with the earl of Strafford, and Sir John Borlace, maſter of the ordnance, appointed in his ſtead, by deſire of the Iriſh committee, during whoſe adminiſtration the parliament ſitting, ſent two liſts of grievances to be tranſmitted, one to the king, and the other to the parliament of England. And in the ſame parliament, captain Audley Mervin, brought up an impeachment of high treaſon from the commons to the lords, againſt Sir Richard Botton, lord chancellor, and others: nor did Sir Richard Ratcliff eſcape the ſame charge, who amongſt other things, was accuſed of joining with the earl of Strafford in taking eighty thouſand pounds out of the exchequer, in order to buy tobacco, and for favouring the religion and intereſts of the papiſts in Ireland.

And now the lords juſtices received a letter from ſecretary Vane, informing them that his majeſty had had ſome intimation of an intended rebellion in Ireland, and eſpecially in Con-

naught, and adviſing them to be upon their guard, in order to prevent the deſign, if any ſuch there were, and to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom.

Yet notwithſtanding this admonition they did not ſufficiently guard againſt the plot, as the ſequel proved; for which (perhaps) as well as for other reaſons, there have not been wanting thoſe who have accuſed them of attending more to their own private advantage than the good of the kingdom committed to their care, a charge which if it be proved muſt be allowed to be moſt inexcuſable.

In the mean time the earl of Strafford was brought to his trial in England. The chief artic es of impeachment, againſt whom, as relative to Ireland, we have here ſet down as extracted from Ruſhworth, that the reader may ſee on what principles that great man was condemned, and form a more accurate judgment of the grievances that were complained of under his government.

The third article (which is the firſt relating to Ireland) is, that he ſhould ſay, " That Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them what he pleaſed; and that the charters of the corporations were worth nothing, and did bind the king no farther than he pleaſed."

To which the earl anſwered, " That he never ſpoke thoſe words; and that the ſcope and intent of what he did ſay was to ingratiate his majeſty's government with the people; and that his words were well accepted at that time, however they came to be reſented now. That the charters of Dublin were, in the year ſixteen hundred and thirty-four, brought before the council and ſtill are in the hands of the clerk of the council;

council; becauſe (beſides other abuſes) the papiſts of that city engroſſed all the trade, and denied liberty to ſuch as came out of England to ſet up there, which he had ſo far remedied, as that there were three Engliſhmen in Dublin, for one that was there when he came to the government; and the charters were not condemned but enjoyed to that day, ſo that he aimed at a reformation in favour of the Engliſh, but did not deſign the deſtruction of the charters."

The fourth article was, "That the earl of Cork having begun a ſuit of law to recover a poſſeſſion he had loſt, by colour of an order from the lord deputy and council, the lord deputy threatened to impriſon him unleſs he would ſurceaſe his ſuit: ſaying, That he would have neither law nor lawyers diſpute, or queſtion his orders. And that he ſaid upon another (the like) occaſion, That he would make the earl of Cork, and all Ireland know, that ſo long as he had the government there, any act of ſtate there made or to be made, ſhould be as binding to the ſubjects of that kingdom as an act of parliament; and that he queſtioned that earl in the caſtle-chamber, upon pretence of a breach of an order of council-table.

To this the earl of Strafford anſwered, That the council table was a court of record in Ireland, wherein they proceeded formally, by bill, anſwer, examination of witneſſes, &c. and therefore the orders of it were binding, and ought to be obeyed; he denied he compared it to be a parliament, and denied that the earl of Cork was proſecuted for diſobedience of an order of council only.

The fifth article was, That in time of peace, on the twelfth of December, ſixteen hundred and thirty-five he did give and procure to be given

ſentence of death againſt the lord Mountmorris, at a council of war (for ſaying of an accidental hurt his kinſman had given the lord deputy's foot, "Perhaps it was done in revenge of that affront done me publicly, but I have a brother would not have taken ſuch a revenge") and that the like ſentence was given againſt Thomas Dennit, who was executed thereupon.

To this the earl anſwered, "That he was general of the army, and had power of martial law, which was uſual in Ireland, and the lord Mountmorris, was an officer in the ſtanding army, and by theſe mutinous words had trangreſſed the thirteenth and the twenty firſt articles of war, That he was not a judge of it, but the council of war were the judges, That the lord Mountmorris ſuffered nothing but a ſhort impriſonment, and was told at that time by the earl, that he ſhould not ſuffer according to the ſentence; and as for Dennit, he had ſtolen a quarter of beef, and alſo ran away from his colours, which was felony in Ireland, and it was at a time when a regiment was embarking for England."

The ſixth article was, That on a paper petition, without legal proceedings, he cauſed the lord Mountmorris to be diſpoſſeſſed of lands he had enjoyed quietly eighteen years.

To this the earl ſaid, "That ſort of proceeding was uſual in Ireland, and he had a poſitive order for it (except in ſpecial caſes) by the king's letter, dated the fifth of October, 9 Car. I. That three of the judges aſſiſted him in the trial, and that the judgment was very juſt.

The eighth article was, That he impriſoned the lord chancellor Loftus for not obeying his decree on a paper petition, and alſo impriſoned him for not giving up the great ſeal; and alſo impriſoned the earl of Kildare, for not ſubmitting

ing his title to Caſtle-Ley to the lord deputy's pleaſure; and that contrary to the major vote of the council, he cauſed an order of council-board to be made againſt the widow Hibbot, and threatened to fine her ſo high if ſhe diſobeyed that ſhe was thereby forced to quit her lands, which were ſince conveyed to the uſe of the earl.

To which the earl anſwered, That it was a caſe of fraud and oppreſſion. that the council-board in Ireland had juriſdiction in ſuch caſes, and that the major vote was againſt her; and denied the lands were conveyed to his uſe.

The ninth article was, That he gave warrants to the biſhops of Down and Connor, and others of their officers, to arreſt and impriſon ſuch of the poorer ſort as refuſed to appear upon their ſummons, or diſobeyed their ſentences, until they gave ſecurity to ſhew cauſe at the council-table for ſuch contempt.

To which he anſwered, That ſuch warrants were formerly uſed, and even at the deſire of the papiſts, to ſave the charge of the writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo*, that he never granted but this one, and finding it abuſed, he ſoon called it in again.

The tenth article was, That he procured the cuſtoms to be farmed to his own uſe, and advanced the book of rates on native commodities to exceſſive prices, whereby the cuſtom that ſhould be but the twentieth became the third or fourth part of the true value of the commodity, and there was a clauſe in the grant, that it ſhould be good, though an act of parliament ſhould be made againſt it.

To this the earl anſwered, That the book of rates was advanced before his farm; that it was ſo moderate, that the king ſent a letter in ſixteen hundred and thirty-ſeven, to raiſe it higher, which

he oppoſed; that he was drawn into the farm by the king's command, and the lord Portland's importunity; and that the king had great part of the profit of it, and that trade was exceedingly increaſed ſince his coming to the government.

And the matter of fact proved to be thus: The cuſtoms of Ireland were in 16 Jac. I. demiſed to the duke of Buckingham, for ten years, at ſix thouſand pounds *per annum*, and half the clear profits above the rents, which half (*Communibus annis*) amounted to three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*; ſo that in effect, the duke paid nine thouſand ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*,—but he had allowance for ſeveral detalcations, as one thouſand four hundred pounds *per annum*, in lieu of the cuſtoms of wines, which were leaſed to the earl of Carliſle at that rent; and the cuſtoms of Derry, Colerain, Knockfergus, and Strangford reſerved to the king.

On the twentieth of March, in the ſeventh year of king Charles I. the cuſtoms were let to the dutcheſs of Buckingham for twenty thouſand pounds fine, and eleven thouſand and fifty pounds *per annum* rent, and Derry, &c. included, and the lord of Carliſle's leaſe was ſurrendered to the king on the twenty-firſt day of the ſame month, and then the new book of rates was made.

And on the twenty-firſt of April following, viz. 8 Car. I. the dutcheſs of Buckingham's leaſe being ſurrendered, a new one was made to lord Strafford and partners, for eight thouſand pounds fine, and fifteen thouſand five hundred pound *per annum*, and they managed it ſo well that this branch of the revenue yielded them as follows,

Anno

Anno. 1636——39,936
1637——38,889
1638——57,380
1639——55,582.

The eleventh article was, For reſtraining tranſportation of pipe-ſtaves, &c. without licence; but that article was waved by the managers.

The twelfth was, That he monopolized the whole trade of tobacco by his proclamation that none ſhould be imported without his licence; and another proclamation that none ſhould be ſold by wholeſale, unleſs it were made up in rolls, ſealed at both ends with a ſeal appointed by him; and that divers were pillored, whipt, fined, impriſoned, &c. for tranſgreſſing that proclamation: and whilſt he raiſed the impoſt on other goods, he reduced that on tobacco from ſix pence to three pence *per* pound, whereby he got ten thouſand pound *per annum*. And that he raiſed ſeveral other monopolies on ſtarch, iron pots, glaſſes, tobacco-pipes, &c.

To which he anſwered, That on the ſixth of June, 13 Jac. I. the king granted the impoſt on tobacco being eighteen pence per pound to William Maſſam and John Pit, for ſeven years at ten pounds *per annum*, and on the eighth of February, 19 Jac. I. it was lett to Mr. Lyre for twenty-one years, at twenty pounds *per annum*; upon the commons advice in parliament that leaſe was brought in, and on the eighteenth day of July 12 Car. I. the king ordered the lord deputy to aſſume the pre-emption of tobacco, &c. to advance the revenue: and this letter was the ground of the firſt proclamation, which in this matter followed the example of England, and the ſecond proclamation was in effect but the duplicate of the proclamation in England of the nineteenth of March, 13 Car. I. *mutatis mutandis*,

dis.——That upon the ſeventh of November ſixteen hundred and thirty-ſeven, he contracted with Mr. Carpenter, &c. for the ſole importation of tobacco for eleven years, at five thouſand pounds *per annum* for the firſt five years, and ſix thouſand pound *per annum* the laſt ſix years, over and above three pence per pound impoſt; and that he had the conſent of the principal of the council, and the approbation of his majeſty, who conſented to an act of parliament for the confirmation of it; that the council ſigned the proclamations, and if any were pillored, whipt, &c. it was for perjury or like crimes; and the fines were only *in terrorem*, little of them being levied:—and concluded that he was no gainer by that monopoly.

The thirteenth article was, That he alſo monopolized all the flax of the kingdom by his proclamation of the thirty-firſt day of May, 12 Car. I. and the thirty-firſt day of January in the ſame year, preſcribing and enjoining rules and methods of making yarn and thread; which the unſkilful natives could not practiſe, and ordering all linnen yarn and thread made in any other manner to be ſeized, which was accordingly executed with ſeverity, whereby multitudes were undone, and many ſtarved.

To which he anſwered, That what he did was to encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland, and to bring the Iriſh to a more artificial way of making linnen yarn, thread, and cloth; that the council concurred in the proclamation, which made temporary laws in Ireland; and that he was a loſer of three thouſand pounds by this project for the good of that country; that the evil conſequences (if any) were collateral and accidental; and that the miſdemeanors of inferior officers could not be charged on him; that he never

never uſed more than four hundred pounds worth of yarn in a year, which could not undo, much leſs ſtarve ſuch multitudes as they pretended.

The fourteenth was, That he impoſed a new oath (to make true invoice, &c.) on maſters of ſhips;—but the managers declined this article.

The fifteenth was, That he arbitrarily impoſed illegal taxes on the towns of Bandonbridge, and Baltimore; and ceſſed ſoldiers on them till they paid them; and by force of arms expelled Richard Butler from Caſtlecumber, and impriſoned ſeveral of the O'Brenans, and their wives and children, until they ſurrendered, and releaſed their right and eſtates.

To this the earl anſwered, That when the country granted the king one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds in nature of a ſubſidy, it was agreed between the deputy Falkland and them, that it ſhould not be entered upon record, but be levied by captains, by paper aſſignments by warrant from the lord deputy, and ſo it was done, and the money levied on Brandon, &c. was for arrears of that contribution, and it was levied without force; and that Caſtlecumber was legally evicted, and that the ſoldiers ſent thither (being but twelve) were ſent to guard Mr. Wandesford's houſe; but uſed no force to Mr. Butler, or any quiet ſubject; and that it was uſual in Ireland to quarter ſoldiers on delinquents.

The ſixteenth article was, That he procured his majeſty's order on the ſeventeenth of February, ſixteen hundred and thirty-one, that no complaint ſhould be received in England about Iriſh affairs, until it were firſt made in Ireland to the lord deputy.——And that by proclamation of the ſeventeenth of September, 11 Car. I. All perſons that had eſtate or office in Ireland (except ſuch as had employment in his majeſty's ſervice

ſervice in England, or attended there by his ſpecial command) ſhould reſide in Ireland, and not depart without licence;—whereby people were hindred from complaining againſt the ſaid earl: and they alledged that one Parry had been puniſhed for ſo doing.

To this he anſwered, That it was by him and the council conceived fit to prevent unneceſſary clamours here; but that he never denied licence except to the lords of Cork, Mountmorris, and Roch, becauſe there were ſuits againſt them in the caſtle-chamber, and to Sir Frederick Hamilton by the king's command, which was taken off when he knew the deſign of his voyage was to complain againſt him, and to lord Deſmond for a ſhort time, becauſe he was major general of the army; and that Parry was puniſhed for other miſdemeanours by the conſent of the whole council.

The nineteenth was, That by proclamation of the twentieth of May, in the year fixteen hundred and thirty-nine, he impoſed a new oath on the people, and grievouſly fined thoſe that refuſed it. In particular, that Henry Stewart and his wife were fined five thouſand pounds each, and their two daughters and James Gray three thouſand pounds each, and were impriſoned for not paying it. And that he explained the oath by ſaying, "It was to oblige in point of allegiance to the ceremonies and government of the church eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's authority, and that he would proſecute to the utmoſt ſuch as ſhould diſobey." Moreover he was accuſed of having declared, That if he returned again, he would root out, ſtock and branch, the diſſenting Scots.

To this he pertinently anſwered, That it was done in a dangerous time, for the ſecurity of the

the kingdom, and upon their own petition; beſides that he had his majeſty's orders for what he did; but, as to the fine of Stewart, &c. it was ſettled before it came to his vote, ſo that he did no more than concur with the reſt;—neither did he ſpeak againſt the Scottiſh nation, but only againſt the faction of the covenanters. [*And it is to be obſerved that the oath complained of had not been framed but as a check on their illegal oath and combination, which was prior to the other in point of time.*]

The twenty-ſecond article was, That he procured the Iriſh parliament to declare againſt the Scots, and gave orders to raiſe an army of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, with intent to invade England.

He anſwered, That he raiſed thoſe troops by his majeſty's order, but with no ſuch deſign, only to ſerve the king according to their bounden duty.

Theſe articles, together with ſome other trifling ones, and an accuſation of having enſnared a rebellious ſubject that lived near Carrickfergus, were thought ground ſufficient by the Engliſh parliament, whereon to condemn this nobleman, who was accordingly ſentenced to die the death of a traitor, which ſentence was executed on the twelfth day of May, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, the king, though he otherwiſe interpoſed in his behalf, not having ſpirit enough to grant him a pardon.—

When Charles thus ſuffered the earl of Strafford to be executed, it has been juſtly obſerved, that he ſharpened the axe to ſtrike off his own head. For whatever charges were exhibited againſt that nobleman, (many of which were moſt malicious ones) it is certain that never ſubject better

better loved his prince, or more effectually endeavoured to ſerve him. Moreover, this action of Charles's was not only the moſt imprudent, but abſolutely the worſt of his reign, ſince Strafford had done nothing that he was accuſed of, but for his majeſty's ſervice, and many things by his expreſs order.—Charles has been called a *tyrant*, if ever he behaved *like* one, it was in this inſtance, where he permitted a man to ſuffer for what was done to ſupport *him* (if not by his own expreſs order) and ſacrificed a wiſe and moſt faithful miniſter to the rage of an angry and fatally deluded people. But it was ever the fault of the Stuarts to deſert their friends, and make undue conceſſions to their enemies. It was owing to *this* (more than to their tyranny) that their reigns were generally unhappy; that of four of thoſe princes, one, in ſpite of all his boaſted ſenſe and learning, lived deſpiſed; and died unregretted; a ſecond loſt his life on a ſcaffold; a third coming to the crown, after having experienced many misfortunes, was yet before his death oppoſed by his ſubjects; and a fourth was finally dethroned, to the utter ruin and expulſion of the lineal deſcendants of his family. For is there any party zealot ſo bigotted to his opinions as not to acknowledge that greater tyrants than any of theſe (the *laſt* not excepted) have ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre, governed the land with ſucceſs and died at laſt in peace? If there be any ſuch, I am ſorry for the depravity of his heart, or the unſoundneſs of his judgment; for it is as clear as the light, that weakneſs and not tyranny has occaſioned the ruin of moſt princes, and that they who have depoſed them have often ſet up greater tyrants than thoſe they pulled down.—I would not

not have this, however, conſidered as an argument for non-reſiſtance againſt any oppreſſor, but ſurely it ought to be thrown into the ballance, when we ſpeak of princes long ſince dead, and be duly weighed whenever we come to treat of their characters.

As for Strafford, though he had been accuſed as a favourer of the growth of popery, the allegation was falſe, and what was ſtill worſe, his accuſers knew it to be ſo when they brought the charge againſt him; but he was a favourer of his royal maſter, and that was what moſt grieved their hearts, and drew the whole force of their reſentment upon him. Had that maſter protected him as he ought, like a prince and like a man, and at the ſame time taken upon himſelf his own ill-judged proceedings, promiſed to reform them for the future, and generouſly kept his word with his people, Charles might have lived, Strafford might have lived, and the Engliſh might have recovered all that was *really* loſt, without wading through deluges of blood to obtain it, and entailing a thouſand ſources of miſery upon the ages yet unborn.

It is however certain that the earl had in ſome things gone beyond the uſage and power of his predeceſſors, and alſo that he ſhewed too much favour and countenance to monopolies, in which he himſelf was concerned. In effect, he was guilty of miſdemeanors, but of nothing which in the eye of the candid and unprejudiced part of mankind could be thought to deſerve the death of a traitor. But at this time factions ran ſo high in Britain, that the king eſteemed it dangerous to pardon his miniſter, though after he had ſigned the death-warrant he was ſeized with horror and remorſe, and interpoſed to ſave him, but

but in vain.—His enemies had doomed him to deſtruction; and inſiſting that a plan had been laid for his eſcape, would liſten to nothing in his favour. They had alſo, as they ſaid, received intelligence of an aſſociation to defend the king's perſon and government againſt all oppoſers, and in conſequence of theſe two terrible plots, were by no means to be wrought upon, ſo that Strafford's fate became inevitable, and he was conveyed to the place of execution, in purſuance of his ſentence; when paſſing by the apartments of archbiſhop Laud, he was exhorted by that prelate in ſuch a manner as confirmed him in that fortitude, which appeared at the moment of his ſuffering.—When he came to the fatal ſcaffold, he profeſſed his attachment to the church of England, declared his loyalty to his prince, and his wiſhes for the peace and proſperity of the land; and in this temper of mind he prepared himſelf to receive the fatal ſtroke, and ſpoke to thoſe about him as follows:—"Now, (ſaid he) one fatal blow will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherleſs; deprive my poor ſervants of their indulgent maſter, and ſeparate me from my affectionate brother, and from all my friends. I thank God, (he added) that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repoſe."—Having ſaid thus he laid his head on the block which the executioner ſevered at one ſtroke from his body, and ſo compleated this cruel tragedy.

But it is now time to leave the detail of private matters and return to the affairs of Ireland, where the parliament being adjourned, and all things ſeemingly in a ſtate of public tranquility, on Saturday the twenty-third of October, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, a ſudden and almoſt

moſt univerſal defection of the Iriſh happened, attended with a great ſlaughter, the particulars of which ſhall be ſpoken of more at large hereafter.—It was on the ſcore of religion that this inſurrection was raiſed as a proof, in which the old Engliſh families joined with thoſe of the native Iriſh, and but very few of the catholics remained untainted.

The conſpiracy is ſaid to have been diſcovered to the lord juſtice Parſons on the twenty-ſecond of October, by one Owen O'Conally, an Iriſhman, Parſons communicated the intelligence to his colleague Borlace, and they having cauſed one Mac Mahon to be apprehended, he confeſſed on his examination the next morning at five o'clock, That on that very day all the forts and ſtrong places of Ireland would be taken,—that he, with the lord Mac Guire (who was alſo taken) Hugh Birne, captain Brian, O'Neale, and other Iriſh gentlemen were come on purpoſe to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, and that twenty men out of each county were to be there to join with them.—It is alſo ſaid he added, That what was to be done in other parts of the country was ſo far advanced by that time that it was impoſſible for the wit of man to prevent it; that they had him in their power, and might uſe him as they pleaſed, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged.

But though this timely diſcovery prevented the Iriſh from ſeizing on Dublin: yet their party had ſuch ſucceſs that the Engliſh loſt moſt of the other places of ſtrength in the kingdom, and though for ten days they forbore to fall upon the Scots, yet at laſt they alſo ſet upon them, ſays my author, making no diſtinction between Britiſh proteſtants; and by the firſt day of November, the proteſtants had very little left in Ulſter, except

Londonderry, Colerain, and Iniſkilling, half the county of Down, and part of the county of Antrim, which the government was in ill condition to provide for or to relieve.

In the mean time, the lords juſtices reſolved to do all in their power for the preſervation of the remaining part of the kingdom, for the defence of which they were not able however at that juncture to number above three thouſand men, whom they were forced to draw together at great trouble and hazard from places at a diſtance from each other. —Theſe made Sir Francis Willoughby commander of the caſtle, and Sir Charles Coot, governor of the city, and ſent Owen O'Conally with letters to the lord lieutenant, and Sir Henry Spotſwood, with an expreſs to the king, diſperſing commiſſions to all ſuch as they hoped would join them, amongſt whom the catholics of the Pale were included, till afterwards finding theſe lords and their dependants to be ill affected to the cauſe themſelves; the commiſſioners were recalled, and all the arms that had been ſent to them, a great part of which latter however the government was never able to recover.

Owen O'Conally, the firſt diſcoverer of this plot had five hundred pounds in money, and two hundred a year ſettled upon him, and a pardon was ſent over to be offered to the Iriſh. But by this time, Sir Phelim O'Neal and Rory Mac Guire had publiſhed from their camp at Newry, That they had a commiſſion from the king of England under the great ſeal for what they had done, of which they ſent copies to all their confederates, and whatever reaſon there might be to conclude this a falſe pretence, it is certain that it was productive of the greateſt miſchief both to his majeſty, and likewiſe to the Iriſh catholics themſelves who adopted it.

In the interim, the forces of the rebels every where grew powerful. They complained of grievances, they produced their copies of the commiſſion, they recriminated the accuſations of the proteſtants, by ſpeaking, in their turn, of an horrible intended maſſacre, for the prevention of which alone they had taken up arms, calling Heaven to witneſs that they were not guilty of the blood ſhed upon this occaſion. And by theſe means they continually ſtrengthened their hands, and were daily bringing over powerful perſons to their confederacy.

The lord Moor had entered the town of Tredagh, (Drogheda) nevertheleſs the rebels having formed a deſign againſt that place, were likely to have carried it, on account of the propenſity the inhabitants ſeemed to have for their cauſe, and of Sir John Neterville, who commanded a company there being the ſame way inclined; but doctor Jones afterwards biſhop of Meath giving notice of this ſituation of affairs, Sir Henry Tichburn, was ſent thither with a regiment of foot, and two troops of horſe from Dublin, which arriving ſafe contributed much to the preſent ſecurity of the town.

The parliament of England, on the fourth of November, having prevailed on the king to put the conduct of the Iriſh war into their hands, paſſed the following votes.

1. That twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent occaſions of Ireland.

2. That a convenient number of ſhips ſhould be provided for the guarding of the ſea-coaſts of that kingdom.

3. That the houſe held it fit ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe ſhould be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed for the preſent expedition into Ireland.

4. That the lord lieutenant ſhould preſent to both houſes of parliament ſuch officers as he thought

fit to be ſent to Ireland to command any forces to be tranſported thither.

5. That magazines of victuals ſhould forthwith be provided at Weſtcheſter to be ſent over to Dublin, as the occaſions of the kingdom ſhould require.

6. That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, then in Carliſle be forthwith ſent over to Knockfergus in Ireland.

7. That it be referred to the king's council to conſider of ſome fit way, and to preſent it to the houſe for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhould do ſervice in the expedition into Ireland, and for a pardon of ſuch of the rebels in Ireland as ſhould come in by a time limited; and of a ſum of money to be appointed for a reward to ſuch as ſhould bring in the heads of ſuch rebels as ſhould be nominated.

8. That letters ſhould be forthwith ſent to the lords juſtices of Ireland, to acquaint them how ſenſible the houſe was of the affairs of Ireland.

9. That the committee of Iriſh affairs were to conſider how and in what manner England ſhould make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Scotland in the buſineſs of Ireland.

10. That directions ſhould be given for the drawing of a bill for the preſſing of this particular ſervice of Ireland.

The king alſo ſent ſome arms from Scotland to Sir Robert Stewart and others in Ulſter, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and other meſſages and expreſſes having been received concerning the miſerable ſtate of Ireland, the lord Montgomery had commiſſion to raiſe one thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe;——the lords juſtices were made acquainted that his majeſty had left the management of the affairs of Ireland to the parliament of England, and a ſum of money was ſent them, together

gether with a commiſſion to the earl of Ormond, appointing him lord lieutenant, as likewiſe was an order of both houſes in the following words.

" The lords and commons in this preſent parliament being advertiſed of the dangerous conſpiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked inſtigation of Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, for the bloody maſſacre and deſtruction of all proteſtants living there, and others of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects of Engliſh blood, though of the Romiſh religion, being ancient inhabitants within ſeveral counties and parts of that realm, who have always in former rebellions given teſtimony of their fidelity to this crown; and for the utter depriving of his royal majeſty and the crown of England of the government of that kingdom (*under pretence of ſetting up the popiſh religion*) have therefore taken into their ſerious conſideration how thoſe miſchievous attempts might be moſt ſpeedily and effectually prevented; wherein the honour, ſafety, and intereſt of this kingdom are moſt nearly, and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to ſerve his majeſty with their lives and fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of this wicked rebellion in ſuch a way as ſhould be thought moſt effectual by the wiſdom and authority of parliament, and thereupon have ordered and provided for a preſent ſupply of money, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to be ſent from England, being the full proportion deſired by the lords juſtices and his majeſty's council reſident in that kingdom; with a reſolution to add ſuch farther ſuccours as the neceſſity of thoſe affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved on providing arms and munition, not only for thoſe men, but likewiſe for his majeſty's faithful ſubjects in that kingdom with ſtore of victuals and other neceſſaries, as there ſhall be

be occaſion; and that thoſe proviſions may be more conveniently tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral parts of this kingdom; that is to ſay, Briſtol, Weſtcheſter, and one other in Cumberland; where the magazines and ſtorehouſes ſhall be kept, for the ſupply of the ſeveral parts of Ireland. They have likewiſe reſolved to be humble mediators to his moſt excellent majeſty for the encouragement of thoſe Engliſh who ſhall, upon their own charges, raiſe any number of horſe or foot for his ſervice againſt the rebels, that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland, according to their merits. And, for the better inducing the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the lieutenant of Ireland, or, in his abſence, to the lord deputy, or lords juſtices there, according to the commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his majeſty's gracious pardon unto all ſuch as within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or lord juſtices and council of that kingdom) ſhall return to their due obedience, *the greateſt part whereof, they conceive, have been ſeduced upon falſe grounds*, by the cunning and ſubtle practices of ſome of the moſt malignant rebels, enemies to this ſtate, and to the reformed religion;—and likewiſe to beſtow ſuch rewards as ſhall be thought fit, and publiſhed by the lord deputy or lords juſtices and council, upon all thoſe who ſhall arreſt the perſons, or bring in the heads of ſuch traitors as ſhall be perſonally named in any proclamation publiſhed by the ſtate there. And they do hereby exhort and require all his majeſty's loving ſubjects, both in this and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conſcience to God, and his religion.—

But it may be proper to pauſe here for a while, to take a view of the ſituation of affairs

in

in England. There Charles by a too rigid attachment to the rules of church-diſcipline, and a high notion of the prerogative, had given offence both to his Scotch and Engliſh ſubjects. The diſobedience of the former he had made a ſhew of chaſtiſing, at the head of an army; but inſtead of effecting his purpoſe, was prevailed on to treat with the rebels, and to leave the concluſion of the matter to the care of commiſſioners. Theſe commiſſioners betrayed his intereſts; and the Scots having framed a ſolemn league and covenant among themſelves, the practice grew epidemical, and ſpread into England. There the king by ſome ill-concerted violations of the privilege of his parliament, and his continued zeal in religious matters, had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the two houſes; which being chiefly compoſed of ſectaries, knew not where to ſtop in their reſentments. Gratified in all their juſt requiſitions, they ſtill proceeded to abridge the lawful prerogatives of their monarch. They preſented remonſtrance after remonſtrance, demanded privilege after privilege, reviled the king in their meſſages, inſulted his ſervants and counſellors, and permitted the rabble to do the like; till, at length, Charles, finding that he was not ſafe among them, or any where ſo near to London, which was almoſt entirely diſaffected, had withdrawn himſelf from Whitehall, whereupon his turbulent parliament had reſolved that thoſe who adviſed his majeſty to ſuch a meaſure were traitors.—The conſequences of theſe proceedings was at laſt a civil war, which ended in the deſtruction of the king and the conſtitution of the land.

As the jealouſies between the king and his parliament had begun before the commencement of the Iriſh rebellion; the latter, glad to find an opportunity of blackening their prince's character, readily

readily laid hold of that which offered by Sir Phelim O'Neal's ſo confidently aſſerting that he had the king's commiſſion under the great ſeal for what he had done, and it was to clear himſelf from imputations of this kind more than for any other reaſon, that his majeſty, at the requeſt of the two houſes, put the management of the Iriſh war into their hands, and thereby gave them an authority of levying ſoldiers, which they afterwards turned againſt himſelf.

With regard to the maſſacre itſelf, it is ſcarcely poſſible at this diſtance of time to be exact as to the number of proteſtants who fell; and indeed it is likely that there is ſome truth in the aſſertion "That, at firſt, the Iriſh did not proceed to ſuch extremities of murder and cruelty, till the lords juſtices, alarmed at what they had heard was done, which doubtleſs was much exaggerated, gave orders to fall upon the catholics, who, (though indeed the firſt aggreſſors) afterwards revenged themſelves upon their unhappy and defenceleſs fellow-ſubjects in the different provinces." Even the great lords among the Engliſh have not eſcaped cenſure for being too inattentive to the intereſts of their country, and rather ſeeking the eſtates of the inſurgents than the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion.——Nevertheleſs, taking all theſe things in the moſt favourable point of view, the perfidy and cruelty exerciſed by the Iriſh catholics towards the unoffending proteſtants are ſuch as muſt render the names of thoſe concerned in the dreadful work infamous to all poſterity.—To repeat their barbarities would be to ſhock humanity.—To form an idea of their unbounded inſolence it need only be remarked, that (as we have already ſaid) they pretended the king's commiſſion for their revolt, which was an abſolute falſehood, and the ſeal which they pretended to affix

affix was otherwiſe obtained from an old patent or by ſome ſuch ſiniſter means; and thus, on all hands was their conduct unjuſtifiable.

Indeed I will allow that how guilty ſoever the Iriſh catholics were in this matter (I mean their principals) the puritan party were not entirely blameleſs; for, holding the ballance with an even hand, we ſhall find that their violent proceedings, and ſtill more violent intentions, had really ſome ſhare in cauſing, a ſtill greater in excuſing thoſe outrages.—For though I am far from believing that the king countenanced the Iriſh rebellion, yet the meaſures of the ſectaries did it far more effectually.—Their progreſs in England favoured by the parliament, was ſuch as plainly ſhewed that they meant the deſtruction of the hierarchy, and the ſubverſion of all religions and perſuaſions but their own.——Might not fears of this kind be communicated even to Ireland?—The catholics and my lord of Caſtlehaven loudly avowed that they were.—That the Iriſh lords and great chiefs feared a maſſacre is what cannot eaſily be credited, but that many of them might perſuade their dependants ſuch a matter was in agitation is not ſo unlikely, and every one may conclude what conſequences muſt neceſſarily enſue from ſuch a miſrepreſentation.—It is true, the catholics had cauſe to entertain the hopes of every rational liberty, from the king's moderation, which may make it wonderful that they ſhould liſten to ſuch tales, if it were not conſidered, on the other hand, that they had every thing to apprehend from the parliament, who were at this time riſing ſuperior in intereſt to the king himſelf, on which account that matter of wonder will ceaſe.——The ignorant Iriſh certainly in this caſe followed their ſuperiors, and by the zeal with which the former engaged in the cauſe, while

while many of the latter were perpetually changing ſeems ſufficient to authorize this obſervation.—— Another circumſtance in which they were blameable was their throwing every obſtacle in the king's way which might prevent him from ſuppreſſing the rebellion, and obliging him to recal his troops, whilſt they were thundering out ſuch dreadful vengeance againſt the rebels themſelves, as was likely to drive them to the very gates of deſpair.

By ſuch proceedings did the puritans defeat not only the purpoſes of the king, but what they moſt ardently wiſhed ſhould be conſidered as their own, embroiling England, and keeping Ireland in a ſtate of confuſion, eagerly liſtening to every thing advanced againſt Charles, though by men whom themſelves could put no confidence in, and even treating with thoſe whoſe principles they hated for the ſake of gaining a petty advantage over their ſovereign, at one time, whilſt at another they diſavowed theſe proceedings, and called Heaven to witneſs the integrity of their intentions. The tenor of their proceedings in England, ſome of which have been ſpecified above, involved England and Ireland in numerous evils, and at laſt included themſelves in the general ruin, and obliged thoſe to ſubmit to a real tyranny, who had been for many years declaiming againſt an imaginary one.—But, to return to the affairs of Ireland.—

When the governmenmet of that country found that the lords of the Pale were no longer to be truſted, and that almoſt all the catholics looked upon the rebellion as a common cauſe they found every day more and more the expediency of providing againſt the worſt that might happen;—and accordingly they ordered by proclamation that Dublin ſhould be fortified.

Sir Phelim O'Neal having taken Dundalk, marched to Liſnegarvy; but was there repulſed by the

the garriſon of that place. Another party of the rebels ſat down before Meliſont, where they met with a briſk oppoſition; but the powder of the garriſon being ſpent, the horſe made their way through the enemy, and the foot ſurrendered.

The lords juſtices now again endeavoured to relieve Tredagh, for which purpoſe they ſent ſix hundred new raiſed foot, and a troop of horſe, but the Iriſh falling upon them at Gellingſtown bridge, a ſmart engagement enſued, in which theſe new recruits were totally routed, leaving five hundred of their number dead upon the ſpot, a circumſtance that much elevated the catholic party, and occaſioned many to declare for their cauſe who had before through motives of policy declined it. And the lord Gormanſtown on the ſecond day of December, this year iſſued a warrant to the ſheriff of Meath, to ſummon the catholic lords and gentry of that county to meet at the hill of Crofty, whither above a thouſand of them accordingly repaired, and colonel Mac Mahon, Phillip O'Reily, and others came to them with a guard.—Whereupon (ſays Cox) the lords of the Pale riding towards them, with great formality demanded, "Why they came armed into the Pale." To which they replied "That they took up arms for liberty of conſcience, and for maintaining his majeſty's prerogative, of which they underſtood he was abridged; and to make the ſubjects of Ireland as free as thoſe of England."—— The lord Gormanſtown then demanded, Whether theſe were not pretences, and whether they had not ſome private ends of their own to anſwer? To which when they replied, That they had no private ends, but did it upon the above reaſons; and profeſſed great ſincerity towards his lordſhip, he told them That ſeeing theſe were the true deſigns of the inſurrection, he and all the reſt would join with

with them. And it was then proclaimed, that whoſoever ſhould deny ſuch a junction, or refuſe to aſſiſt them therein, they would account ſuch perſon their enemy, and to the utmoſt of their power labour his deſtruction.

Nevertheleſs, what is very remarkable, tho' this was done publicly enough, the ſame author ſays, that the lords juſtices thought fit to diſſemble their knowledge of the matter, (which however he calls *barefaced*) a conduct, that if it were followed, certainly nothing but the great weakneſs of the hands of government could account for. Nor can I help here obſerving, that if, as he aſſerts, the lords of the Pale were the firſt projectors of this rebellion, they might have engaged in it ſooner, and with much leſs ceremony, in a manner that might have been as ſafe to themſelves, and likely to prove of more benefit to the cauſe of the confederacy, which they had undertaken to defend. However that was, he ſays, that on the third of December, the lords juſtices and council wrote to theſe lords to come to Dublin, and conſult for the ſecurity of the kingdom.—The lords of Kildare, Merion, and Louth obeyed this ſummons, but the reſt had a meeting at the hill of Tarah, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, and (probably from a regard to their own perſonal ſafety) by advice of their lawyers, returned the following anſwer.

" May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

" We have received your letters of the third inſtant, intimating that you had preſent occaſions to confer with us concerning the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, and the ſafety thereof in theſe times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth of this inſtant. We give your lordſhips to underſtand, that we have heretofore preſented ourſelves before your lordſhips, and freely

ly offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars, which was by you neglected; which give us cauſe to conceive that our loyalty was ſuſpected by you. We give your lordſhips further to underſtand, that we have received certain advertiſements, that Sir Charles Coot, knight, of the council-board, hath uttered ſome ſpeeches, tending to a purpoſe and a reſolution to execute upon thoſe of our religion a general maſſacre by which we are all deterred to wait on your lordſhips, not having any ſecurity for our ſafety from thoſe threatened evils, or the ſafety of our lives, but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon our beſt guard, until we hear from your lordſhips how we ſhall be ſecured from theſe perils. Nevertheleſs, we all proteſt, That we are and will continue faithful adviſers, and reſolute furtherers of his majeſty's ſervice concerning the preſent ſtate of this kingdom, and the ſafety thereof, to our beſt abilities. And ſo, with the ſaid tender of our humble ſervices we remain your lordſhips ſervants,

Fingall, Gormanſtown, Slane, Dunſany,
Nettervill, Oliver, Louth, Trimletſtown."

And theſe lords as well as the reſt of the confederates agreed to take an oath in manner and ſubſtance as follows:

" I *A. B.* do in the preſence of Almighty God and all the ſaints and angels in heaven, promiſe, vow, ſwear, and proteſt to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my life, power and eſtate, the public and free exerciſe of the true and Roman Catholic religion againſt all perſons that ſhall oppoſe the ſame. I farther ſwear, That I will bear faith and true allegiance to our ſovereign lord king Charles, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and that I will defend him and them as far as I may, with my life, power and eſtate, againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall attempt

attempt any thing againſt their royal perſons, eſtates, honours and dignities, and againſt all ſuch as ſhall, directly or indirectly, endeavour to ſuppreſs their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to royal government, as alſo the power and privileges of parliament, the lawful rights and privileges of the ſubject, and every perſon that makes this vow, oath, and proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful purſuance of the ſame. And, to my power as far as I may, I will oppoſe, and by all means and ways endeavour to bring to condign puniſhment, even to the loſs of life, liberty, and eſtate, all ſuch as ſhall either by force, practice, council, plots, conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do or attempt any thing to the contary of any article, clauſe, or any thing in this preſent vow, oath, or proteſtations contained.—So God me help."—

While theſe things were paſſing, the government was continually alarmed by the daily revolting of the catholics of their army to join the rebels, and now, eaſily conceiving the inſurrection to be general, iſſued certain proclamations for the bringing in proviſions to Dublin, for prohibiting ſoldiers from returning to England without licence, and for keeping all idlers and ſtrangers out of the capital.

— And it ſhould ſeem that theſe proclamations were neceſſary; for Dublin was partly blocked up on different ſides by divers parties of the enemy, who took moſt of the walled towns in the kingdom, and having Naas and Trim in their hands, had advanced after with a body of forces on the one part to Swords, and on, the other, with four thouſand of the county of Wicklow, within four miles of the city.

The king, at the requiſition of the parliament of England had ſent over proclamations, declaring the

the Iriſh to be rebels, &c. But he had ſent only forty of theſe, which however it appears was the whole number that the lords juſtices deſired. In January the lord Ormond's regiment of foot, under lieutenant colonel Monk, together with ſeveral other regiments landed at Dublin, by means of which re-inforcements Ormond found himſelf in a condition of iſſuing out of Dublin, and by ſome ſucceſſes he met with, drove the enemy to a greater diſtance from that capital, at the ſame time ſetting the price of a thouſand pounds, by proclamation, on Sir Phelim O'Neale's head, who at that juncture thought himſelf in little danger of loſing it.—

The ſiege of Tredagh was briſkly carried on by the aſſailanrs, and the town was valiantly defended by the garriſon. Many were the attempts of the Iriſh both by force and ſtratagem to ſubdue this town, which the lord Moor uſed his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve, having even iſſued from thence, on a dark night, and gone in perſon to Dublin, to repreſent to the government the abſolute neceſſity there was of throwing ſuccours into the place.

A great part of the inhabitants being catholics added to the difficulties of the garriſon; for, if we may believe the Engliſh hiſtorians, theſe did all in their power to weary and diſturb them with falſe alarms, and beſides held correſpondence with the enemy; inſomuch, that though the king's troops met with good ſucceſs in ſeveral ſallies, yet they found themſelves but ill ſituated, and were more than once on the very point of loſing the town.

Sir Henry Tichbourn arriving with a thouſand men to the relief of the place is ſaid to have been but coldly received by the inhabitants. And ſoon after his arrival above fourteen thouſand of the rebels

rebels had ſat down before it in form, againſt whom a party of the Engliſh ſallied, but returned with little to boaſt of, having been only brought off in time by the governor's horſe, which iſſuing to their aſſiſtance repulſed the beſiegers, and ſaved them from being cut in pieces.

The rebels afterwards made a great aſſault upon the town, probably thinking to take it by ſtorm, but were driven back; at which time the governor was ſo ſuſpicious of the townſmens fidelity that he ordered them all to keep within their houſes, upon pain of death, till the attack was over.

Cox. But another attempt of the Iriſh was afterwards made, that was much more likely to have anſwered their end than the former; if the circumſtance was as it is related by my author.—A ſupply of proviſions arriving in the harbour, moſt of the garriſon rejoiced at the ſeaſonable relief, drank to exceſs [being enticed thereto by the friars and other papiſts (ſays he) in ſhew of kindneſs,—as if it were *extraordinary* for ſoldiers long in want of proviſions to commit exceſſes when it is in their power, without invitation or enticement] in conſequence of which, when they were overcome with ſleep and wine, the rebels hearing of it (reſolved not to let this favourable opportunity ſlip) made a breach in the wall in an obſcure place, and entered with five hundred men, marching with all ſecrecy, as far as the quay, where they ſet up a general ſhout, thinking the town was their own; but the governor coming down from his chamber, with only his piſtols in his hand, cauſed a drum to beat to arms, and having aſſembled a number of ſoldiers about him, with the aſſiſtanee of the lord Moor, repulſed the Iriſh, with the loſs of two hundred of their men. At the ſame time, in order to retort the

ſtratagem

ſtratagem, the garriſon placed pipers on the walls to play, whilſt others toſſed up their caps, and perſonating a party of the enemy, cried out aloud, "The town is our own," whereby ſeveral of the Iriſh that only waited for the opening of a gate, made haſte in, and were taken priſoners.

However it muſt be owned, this account is a little extraordinary: for if the breach were made before the morning above-mentioned, how came it to be at all deſerted, and if it were *then* made, certainly the garriſon muſt be nearer to death than ſleep, if none of them had any ſenſible perception of it.——And when five hundred men were thus admitted, it could be no eaſy matter to repulſe them; more eſpecially ſince if there were ſuch a number of the beſiegers, five thouſand might as well have followed, and if the ſcheme had been concerted with ſuch regularity and forecaſt, that the catholic houſes were even marked with chalk; it is ſtrange that by the ſame forecaſt, divers attacks were not made at the ſame time in order to divert and diſtract the garriſon.—On the whole, it is moſt likely that but a few of the enemy found means to get into the town unknown to the reſt of their companions, and unexpectedly to themſelves, who were therefore eaſily repulſed, which could not have been the caſe if they were favoured by the inhabitants; and as to the houſes of the catholics being ſaid to be marked with chalk to prevent their ſharing in the intended maſſacre, I believe that may ſafely be ranked with that ſort of falſe tales, the growth of ignorance and malice, to which both parties at that time gave but too much encouragement. Be it as it may, Tredagh was not taken, nor do I find that any of

the inhabitants joined that part of the army which aſſaulted it.

Yet the town was much reduced by famine, and again attacked by Sir Phelim O'Neal, who endeavoured to take it by ſcalade, but the garriſon conſiſted of ſuch good ſoldiers, commanded by ſuch experienced officers as rendered this effort alſo vain; and in this their greateſt neceſſity they received a ſupply of proviſions, which tended much to encourage them in their defence of the place; afterwards they made ſome ſucceſsful ſallies, and theſe at laſt terminated in obliging the rebels to raiſe the ſiege; which being unknown to the earl of Ormond, he marched out of Dublin, with one thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to its relief; but finding the buſineſs done to his hand, after he had re-inforced the lord Moor, laid waſte the lands in the county of Meath, and burned great part of the Pale, he returned upon buſineſs to Dublin.

— Afterwards the lord Moor and Sir Henry Tichburn ſkirmiſhed with the Iriſh, and defeated them; and encouraged by their ſucceſs the Engliſh troops advanced to Dundalk towards the latter end of March. The town was fortified with a double ditch, and had a bog on the one ſide, and the ſea on the other: nevertheleſs the aſſailants found means to force the gate, and entering the town with their horſe purſued the Iriſh on a full gallop, till, at the end of one of the ſtreets, they unexpectedly received a ſevere check from about five hundred of them, who had mounted ſome pieces of braſs ordnance, and were obliged to retreat by the ſame way that they came, with the loſs of enſign Forteſcue, and many ſoldiers, who were ſlain by the guns from a fort at the end of that ſtreet. On this the Engliſh

ſet fire to ſome houſes near that fort, and the wind favouring them the ſmoke blew in ſuch volumes towards it, that the beſiegers under cover of the darkneſs came cloſe enough to blow up the gate with gunpowder; and this caſtle being taken, the town was deſerted, and clear victory remained to the Engliſh.

Sir Phelim O'Neal is ſaid upon this and many other occaſions, when his countrymen ſuffered a defeat, to have revenged it in a barbarous manner upon the helpleſs proteſtants in his power, whom he murdered without mercy. Sir Phelim O'Neal's conduct indeed was ſuch as none but the moſt bigotted of his party could defend.—Enraged by repeated diſappointments, and the frequent defeats of thoſe in whom he truſted, himſelf being of a fierce diſpoſition, and contending with a blind zeal for what he deemed the cauſe of religion, it is not wonderful that he adopted ſuch practices at that time, which in theſe days it is ſhocking to reflect on.—War naturally ſteels the heart of man; civil war makes it ſavage;—and when that civil war is commenced from *religious* motives, there is no name that can expreſs the diobolical diſpoſition it imbibes.—The Iriſh during the whole conteſt were the more cruel, becauſe they were the more bigotted people, yet that the other party was not entirely free from a charge of the like nature is apparent; for, (not to mention the behaviour of Cromwell in a future period) even before his coming over into the iſland, many of the Iriſh had ſuffered, who neither fell in war, nor were legally convicted, nor even condemned by martial law. Nay, when the republican government at laſt prevailed, and about one hundred and fifty Iriſh were tried, condemned and executed for murders and maſſacres, ſome of their countrymen ſaid, Geoghegan,

That they acknowledged there had been murders committed in Ireland, and that there was nothing they more ardently desired than that the accused of each party should be tried for those crimes, and equal justice done upon both, which, however, they added, could not be expected while their enemies were the judges.—I have already said, that after all the catholics can advance, the Irish massacre of the protestants was perfidious, unprovoked, *in regard to the persons on whom it was executed*, and even shocking to humanity; yet after this first piece of barbarity, it is highly probable much more might have been avoided, if not the whole rebellion suppressed, had not the pardon published at Dublin made the time too short for the Irish to come in from the distant provinces to accept it, and which was worse, limitted it *to such only as were not possessed of a freehold*, whereby all the persons of consequence were kept still in rebellion; and, as for the lower class, they could not generally be expected to do otherwise than to follow their leaders. Now as these restrictions are said not to have been made by his majesty, but by the lords justices, it is not wonderful that, whatever were *their* motives, their opponents should fix upon them the scandal of wishing to keep the men of property in the rebellion, that they might stand a chance of sharing their forfeited estates.

The lords and gentlemen, of the Pale at this time retiring from the English, went into Ulster, where they and Sir Phelim O'Neal had great disputes. In short the differences of *Old* and *New* Irish was brought up, which created much animosity; and in the midst of these disputes the lord Gormanstown died.

While these things passed in the Pale and in Ulster, Munster and Connaught had their share

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in the depredations, and in each of these places many were murdered, more slain in the field, and desolation spread over the country; nevertheless, wherever the English could collect themselves in a body, they made a stand; and the consequence generally was their surrendering upon articles,—which were kept or broken according to the tempers of those whom they had to deal with.

All this time both the king and parliament of England had equally expressed the greatest desire of relieving the Irish protestants, and supporting the government of that country; but the latter, notwithstanding all their professions (in which, being mostly puritans, one would have thought they had been in earnest) now rather hindered than helped the service, and whenever their prince offered to do any thing which might tend to this purpose, they answered him by some peevish message, or ill-timed remonstrance. If he spoke of supplies necessary for the service, they observed upon the sums of money expended or illegally raised; if he urged them about raising soldiers to suppress the insurrection, they answered by observing that some papist or other had gone over into Ireland, or passed some votes against the innocent catholics in England, instead of acting vigorously against such as were in arms in Ireland. They affected to adopt persecution rather than fighting, though the former was asserted to have raised, and the latter was become necessary to quell the rebellion. In effect, they were resolved in every thing to thwart the king, and to perplex his ministers.

Nevertheless, that they might not be thought so remiss as they really were in regard to the Irish affairs, after repeated messages concerning the state of that kingdom, they treated with certain Scotch commissioners concerning some propo-

ſitions for the relief of the government there, and alſo revived the ſcheme of adventurers which was generally ſo odious to the native Iriſh.

In regard to this latter circumſtance, it was a matter which perhaps could ſcarcely be otherwiſe excuſed than by the exigency of the times, and which was more likely at any other period to do harm than good, as a people who ſaw their eſtates and poſſeſſions thus parcelled out, and given away (even before they were legally forfeited) by the government, might not be unlikely to conceive that nothing leſs than their total extirpation was intended. It is indeed true that this ſcheme had been adopted before, but it is as true that the Iriſh had taken every opportunity to reſent it, and to recover the lands when thus given away for ſome of the natives, either by ſtratagem or force of arms, which had coſt the lives of many Engliſhmen.—However as this was thought no time to ſtand upon nice conſiderations, the parliament addreſſed themſelves in the matter to the avarice of the people, and had they all along ſeconded this ſcheme by powerful ſupplies, when the management of the war was committed to their charge, it is probable they would have prevailed ſooner.

With regard to the firſt article, a treaty being entered into with the Scots, the following propoſitions were offered to the conſideration of both houſes of parliament.

" Concerning the propoſition made to us on the twenty-ſecond of January, from the committees of both houſes for the tranſporting preſently to Ireland of the ten thouſand five hundred men now in Scotland; we having no inſtructions for that end, cannot by ourſelves condeſcend otherwiſe than upon the cloſure of the treaty; but ſhall moſt heartily repreſent it to the council of Scotland

Scotland; and ſecond the ſame with our earneſt deſires, that every thing may be done, which may contribute to the preſervation of that kingdom, and may teſtify our brotherly affection to this. And that we may be the more able to move the council to condeſcend to the ſame, we deſire the propoſitions following to be granted.

1. That proviſion of victuals be preſently ſent to Carrickfergus to be ſold to our ſoldiers at reaſonable rates, anſwerable to their pay.

2. That an order be ſet down, how they ſhall be paid there, and from whom they may require the ſame.

3. That they have the command and keeping of the town and caſtle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain ſtill within the ſame, or to enlarge their quarters and to go abroad into the country upon ſuch occaſions as their officers in their diſcretion ſhall think expedient for the good of that kingdom. And if it ſhall be thought fit any regiments or troops in that province ſhall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of our forces.

4. That proviſion of match, powder, and ball be preſently ſent to Carrickfergus, and what arms, ammunition or artillery ſhall be ſent over with them from Scotland, that the like quantity ſhall be ſent from hence to Scotland, whenſoever the ſame ſhall be demanded.

5. That a part of the thirty thouſand pounds of the brotherly aſſiſtance be preſently advanced to us, which although in a juſt proportion to theſe men, it will amount but to ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds, yet for the better farthe-ing of the ſervice, we deſire ten thouſand pounds, if it may ſtand with your convenience.

6. That their pay, which was condeſcended unto from the eighth of December, be preſently advanced to the eighth of February next, againſt which time we are confident they ſhall be ready to march.

7. That a man of war or ſome merchants ſhips be ſent from Briſtol, Weſtcheſter, or Dublin, to Lochryan for a ſafe convoy and guard of the paſſage, becauſe they being in open boats may be ſubject to inconveniences from the enemy, whoſe frigates, we hear, are towards that coaſt.

8. That the ſending over of theſe men be without prejudice to the proceedings of the treaty, which we deſire may go on without any delay."

Which propoſitions were well received by the parliament, only his majeſty diſapproved of the third article, relative to Carrickfergus; whereupon the Scots waited upon him; and theſe obſerving, That it was only a matter of truſt which was in debate, they hoped he, who was their native king, would not ſhew leſs confidence in them than the Engliſh, Charles conſented to this article alſo, and ſo the buſineſs proceeded.

And as to the ſcheme of the adventurers, the parliament regulated the plan of it by paſſing the following vote:

" The lords and commons taking into their ſerious conſideration, as well the neceſſity of a ſpeedy reducing of the rebels of Ireland to their due obedience, as alſo the great ſums of money that the commons of this realm have of late paid for the public and neceſſary affairs of the kingdom, whereof the lords and commons are very ſenſible, and deſirous to embrace all good and honourable ways, tending to his majeſty's greatneſs and profit, the ſettling of that realm, and the eaſe of his majeſty's ſubjects of England: And whereas

whereas divers worthy and well affected perſons perceiving that many millions of acres of the rebels lands of that kingdom, which go under the name of *profitable lands* will be confiſcated and ſo diſpoſed of: and that in caſe two millions and a half of acres equally taken out of the four provinces of that kingdom may be allotted for the ſatisfaction of ſuch perſons as ſhall diſburſe any ſums of money for the reducing of the rebels there, it would effectually accompliſh the ſame, have made theſe propoſitions enſuing:

1. That two millions and a half of thoſe acres may be aſſigned, alloted, and divided amongſt them after theſe proportions, *viz.*

For each adventurer of two hundred pounds, one thouſand acres in Ulſter;—of three hundred pounds, one thouſand acres in Connaught;—four hundred and fifty pounds, one thouſand acres in Munſter;—of ſix hundred pounds, one thouſand acres in Leinſter; all according to Engliſh meaſure, and conſiſting of meadow, arable, and profitable paſture; the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being caſt in over and above theſe two millions and a half of acres; to be holden in free and common ſoccage of the king, as of his caſtle of Dublin.

2. That out of theſe two millions and a half of acres, a conſtant rent ſhall be reſerved to the crown of England after this proportion, viz.

Out of each acre thereof in { Ulſter - 1 *d.* / Connaught 1—*ob.* / Munſter 2—*q.* / Leinſter 3—

3. That for the erecting of manors, filling of waſte and commons, maintaining of preaching miniſters, creating of corporations, and regulating of the ſeveral plantations, one or more commiſſions

ſions he hereafter granted by authority of parliament.

4. That the moneys for this great occaſion may be the more ſpeedily advanced, all the undertakers in the city of London, and within twenty miles diſtance thereof ſhall underwrite their ſeveral ſums before the twentieth day of March, ſixteen hundred and forty-one, and all within ſixty miles of London, before the firſt day of April, ſixteen hundred and forty-two, and the reſt of the kingdom before the firſt day of May, ſixteen hundred and forty-two.

5. That the ſeveral ſums to be under-written ſhall be paid in at four payments, *viz.* one fourth part within ten days after ſuch under-writing, and the other three parts at three months, three months, and three months; all to be paid into the chamber of London.

6. That for the better ſecurity of the ſaid ſeveral ſums, accordingly every one that doth ſo under-write ſhall at the time of his ſubſcription pay the twentieth part of the total ſum that ſhall be by him then under-written. And, in caſe that the reſidue of his firſt fourth part be not paid in to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be appointed to receive the ſame within the ten days before limitted, then ſuch party ſhall not only forfeit the twentieth part of the ſum total formerly depoſited, but ſo much more of his firſt fourth payment—to be added thereunto, as ſhall make up the one moiety, of the ſaid firſt payment. And if the ſaid perſon ſhall fail in any other of the three payments, he ſhall then forfeit his entire firſt fourth, and all the benefit of his ſubſcription, which forfeiture ſhall accrue to the common benefit of the reſt of the undertakers.

The lords and commons upon due and mature deliberation on theſe propoſitions, have approved of them, and given their conſent unto the ſame, and will become humble petitioners to his majeſty

jeſty for his royal approbation thereof, and that hereafter he will be pleaſed upon the humble ſuit of both houſes of parliament, to give his royal aſſent to ſuch bills as they ſhall tender unto him for the ſettling of thoſe propoſitions, and all other things neceſſarily conducing thereunto.

On the twenty-fourth day of February his majeſty returned his approbation of theſe votes, ſaying, that, " relying on the wiſdom of parliament he conſented to every propoſition made him, without taking time to conſider *whether this courſe might not retard the reducing the kingdom, by exaſperating the rebels, and rendering them deſperate of being received into grace, if they ſhould return to obedience.*—

Theſe were his words, and certain it is, that this ſcheme of the adventurers, together with the whole plan of the buſineſs of reducing Ireland, as laid down by the parliament of England, muſt be conſidered as moſt impolitic, *without the moſt extenſive offer of pardon being firſt made to the inſurgents.*

But offers of this kind were actually made by the king, and affected by the two houſes, nevertheleſs we find many complaints, and (to ſay truth, not groundleſs ones) of the Iriſh, That whatever the king and parliament of England might intend in this matter, their deſigns were fruſtrated by the lords juſtices and others in power (as has been mentioned above) that beſides their limitations of the pardon, many who came in were impriſoned and puniſhed, and many who through mere neceſſity countenanced an inſurrection they were not furniſhed with the means to oppoſe, were treated in the ſame manner, as appears from the letters of the duke of Ormond, and other papers of thoſe times. But becauſe the king, poſſibly conceiving ſomething of all this, was inclined to Carte.

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be rather more moderate in his proceedings than the parliament, the latter broke forth into the moſt indecent and illiberal invectives againſt him, proteſting that they could bring proofs that thoſe concerned in the Iriſh rebellion ſaid, "That they had entered into it, and would join in that or any other inſurrection to recover his majeſty's royal prerogative."—Which extraordinary article being inſerted in their declaration, preſented to their monarch at Newmarket, he took all poſſible pains by words and actions to endeavour to refute theſe aſſertions, and declared himſelf ready to do every thing proper for expediting the buſineſs of Ireland, even to the hazarding his own royal perſon in that ſervice.

But the conſequence was that this *very wiſe and juſt* aſſembly reſolved, That thoſe who adviſed his majeſty to ſend *ſuch meſſages* were enemies to the peace of England, and were juſtly to be ſuſpected to be favourers of the rebellion in Ireland.——With ſuch a ſet of men, it was impoſſible to come to a right underſtanding without abſolutely altering the form of eſtabliſhed conſtitution, a circumſtance which Charles was apprized of when it was too late.——But about this time, their repeated demands and increaſing arrogance gave him clearly to underſtand that they would never be ſatisfied with aſking while he had any thing left to yield them, and that their uniform deſign was that of overthrowing both the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of his kingdoms.

It is eaſy to conceive that theſe diſſentions in England muſt much retard the progreſs of the war in Ireland, in which if the parliament were really ſo much in earneſt as they wiſhed to be thought, it behoved them to have been contented with the king's conceſſions, to have taken any rational

tional ſecurity for thoſe liberties, which they well knew at that time he had neither inclination nor abilities to overturn, and to have joined hand and heart with their monarch to carry this favourite point, which they all along aſſerted to be of ſo great conſequence:—on the contrary, while they were on one hand, uſing all their power to irritate the revolters and to preclude all manner of reconciliation; they were, on the other, as much buſied in rendering the condition of England, ſuch as muſt neceſſarily terminate in a deſertion of the intereſts of Ireland, where the proteſtants were expoſed to the fury of thoſe very men, whom theſe reſtleſs demagogues had taken ſo much pains to enrage. I doubt not indeed, but theſe puritans hated the Iriſh catholics (not as *rebels*, but on the ſcore of *religion*) but there was ſomething which they ſtill more zealouſly hated, and that was the intereſt of their ſovereign and of the eſtabliſhed church of England, and the overthrow of which they were ſo ſteadily reſolved, that they would have indirectly favoured the cauſe of Papiſts, Jews, Turks or Infidels rather than not have accompliſhed it,—a conſideration that muſt reflect eternal infamy upon their memory.

In April this year, the lieutenant general Ormond marched to Naas, and having loſt ſome ſoldiers by the garriſon of Tipper, cauſed the caſtle with all that were in it to be blown up, and then went forwards, ſending his wounded men upon cars under a guard to Dublin; but theſe being ſurpriſed by the Iriſh on their way were all cut off, by which accident the intercourſe between the ſtate and the army was ſtopped, which laſt nevertheleſs proceeded through the country, relieving ſome forts of their own, and deſtroying many of the enemy; and in this expedition Sir Charles Coot, A. D. 1642. Cox.

Coot (the inveterate foe to the Iriſh) ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that the title of earl of Montrath was intailed upon his poſterity.

On the lieutenant general's return towards Dublin, ſetting out from Athy, as he held on his way, the Iriſh appeared on his right, keeping the ſame track, with an intention to intercept him; and thus both armies marched on till they came to a place where theſe two roads, which before were divided by a bog, met: and there the lieutenant general thought fit to draw up his men in order of battle, fearing that if he declined this opportunity of engaging (which however was not of his own ſeeking) the enemy would fall upon his rear. An engagement enſuing, the Engliſh got the better, and forced their opponents to retire, after which the former marched back in ſafety to Dublin.

And after this action, Sir Philip lord Liſle arrived at Dublin, who accompanied by old Sir Charles Coot relieved the caſtle of Geaſhill, and atchieved ſome exploits in the field. Theſe having forced Trim, Sir Charles adviſed to make a garriſon of it, to conſult concerning which matter, the lord Liſle with a party of horſe went to Dublin, and the Iriſh the next night attacking the place to the number of three thouſand, though they were repulſed, yet Sir Charles was ſlain in the attempt.

The earl of Ormond having in June received a re-inforcement, marched to relieve Athlone, and having met with good ſucceſs on his way and taken ſeveral places, the Iriſh burned Molinger and Ballymore and their army withdrew, upon which the lieutenant general returned to Dublin.

The Iriſh parliament meeting on the twenty-firſt June, the lower houſe voted, That the oath of ſupremacy ſhould be tendered to all their members, for which purpoſe a bill being framed, was ſent over into England; and they proceeded beſides

ſides to chuſe members for thoſe places in their power, whoſe repreſentative had joined the general confederacy, and beſides this, the lord juſtices and the council revoked and repealed all protections which had been given to any of the rebels before that time.

In the mean while, the affairs of England grew every day more and more embarraſſed.—The king had ſet up his ſtandard, and the demagogues had reſolved upon war, Charles had encountered the forces of the parliament at Edge-hill, where after an obſtinate diſpute, night parted the combatants and both ſides claimed the victory, above five thouſand men having been ſlain in the engagment.—After the ſword was thus drawn, there was little hope of relief for the government or proteſtants in Ireland from either party, both being too much employed in annoying each other, to attend to what was paſſing in that unhappy country.

The parliament, however, ſent over certain commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of the kingdom and the condition of the army, and to ſee how their money was diſpoſed of. "Theſe were furniſhed with ſome money and ammunition; and arriving in Dublin were well received by the council, and made a book (ſays Cox) which contained a ſubſcription of moſt of the officers of the army, to take debentures on the forfeited lands for a certain proportion of their pay, as believing that they would fight the better, and end the war the ſooner, if they were intereſted in the fruits of the victory as well as in the quarrel."—But the king, by this time finding how little he had to hope from the parliament of England, perplexed as he was by the rebels of one of his kingdoms, thought it but vain to drive to deſpair thoſe of the other, eſpecially as his neceſſities obliged him to think of recalling

recalling his own troops from abroad, to aſſiſt him at home, whereby the ſtate in Ireland muſt be at all events more and more endangered, ſince the two houſes were not ſo willing to employ their forces in the Iriſh ſervice, as to turn them againſt their prince. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe he was offended at the deportment of the commiſſioners (who had ſat covered in the council chamber) Charles ſent the lords juſtices a reprimand, and poſitively ordered that the new-comers ſhould quit the kingdom, which they did accordingly on the twenty-ſeventh of February, to the great diſpleaſure of the parliament, who affected to take great care of thoſe affairs, which in effect they at this time had not ſo much at heart, as others of a very different nature.

The Iriſh under general Preſton beſieging Ballynakill, colonel Monk was ſent to relieve that place, upon which the enemy raiſed the ſiege, but waited in a paſs where they might commodiouſly intercept him and his army on their return to Dublin. And they did ſo, nevertheleſs they were defeated, and the Engliſh returned in ſafety.—Sir Richard Grenvill alſo marching to raiſe the ſiege of Athloan, having effected his purpoſe was encountered in his way back by the enemy, who were ſupperior in numbers to his forces, but whom he routed, taking general Preſton's ſon priſoner, and killing above two hundred of their ſoldiers.

In November, ſixteen hundred and forty-two, the lords juſtices tranſmitting a petition from the confederate catholics of Ireland, requeſting his Majeſty to hear their grievances; and accordingly Thomas Burk one of the confederates, brought over a commiſſion of that kind which he delivered at the council board. By this inſtrument the marquis of Ormond, the lords of Clanricard and Roſcommon, Sir Martin Euſtace and others were empowered,

ed to hear their complaints.—The three laſt of whom went for this purpoſe to Trim, where the lord Gormanſtown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and John Walſh, in quality of agents from the catholics, preſented a remonſtrance which was produced to the Iriſh parliament in the month of April, "where (ſays Cox) the Engliſh unluckily dividing into the factions of Proteſtant and Puritan (*it was indeed unlucky that ever they ſhould have been any where ſo divided*) the former, in order to back this argument againſt that remonſtrance, compared it to the Scotch covenant, which ingendered ſuch heats in the houſe, that the parliament was prorogued on account of that expreſſion."

Nevertheleſs the proteſtant army ſtill not neglecting to ſolicit their affairs in England, preſented an addreſs to the king at Oxford, by the hands of Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardreſs Waller, colonel Hill and colonel Mervin, to which they received from his majeſty the following anſwer.

"THAT his majeſty hath ſince the beginning of that monſtrous rebellion, had no greater ſorrow than for the bleeding of that his kingdom, and as he hath by all means laboured that timely relief might be afforded to the ſame, and conſented to all propoſitions (how diſadvantageous ſoever to himſelf) that have been offered him for that purpoſe, and, at firſt recommended their condition to both houſes of parliament, and immediately of his own mere motion, ſent over ſeveral commiſſions, and cauſed ſome proportion of arms and ammunition, which the petitioners well know to have been a great ſupport to the northern parts of that kingdom, to be conveyed to them out of Scotland, and offered to find ten thouſand volunteers to undertake that war and hath often ſince preſſed, by many ſeveral meſſages that ſufficient ſuccours might be haſten-

ed thither, and other matters of ſmaller importance laid by, which divert it, and offered and moſt really intended in his own royal perſon, to have undergone the danger of that war, for the defence of his good ſubjects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe perfidious and barbarous rebels; and in his ſeveral expreſſions of his deſires of treaty and peace, hath declared the miſerable preſent condition, and certain future loſs of Ireland, to be one of his principal motives moſt earneſtly to deſire that the preſent diſtractions of this kingdom might be compoſed, and that others would concur with him in the ſame end.—So his majeſty is well pleaſed that his offers, concurrence, actions, and expreſſions are ſo rightly underſtood by the petitioners, and thoſe who have employed them, notwithſtanding the groundleſs and horrid aſperſions which have been caſt upon him;—but wiſhes that inſtead of a more general complaint (to which his majeſty can make no return but of compaſſion) they could have digeſted and offered to him any ſuch deſires by conſenting to which he might convey, at leaſt in ſome degree, comfort and life to that gaſping kingdom, preſerve his diſtreſſed and loyal ſubjects of the ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true proteſtant religion from being ſcorned and trampled upon by theſe mercileſs and idolatrous rebels. And if the petitioners can yet think on any ſuch, and propoſe it to his majeſty, he aſſures them, That by his readineſs to conſent, and his thanks to them for the propoſal, he will make it appear to them, that their moſt preſſing perſonal ſufferings cannot make them more deſirous of relief, than his care of the true religion, and of his faithful ſubjects, and of that duty which obliges him to his power to protect both, renders him deſirous to afford it to them."

—With

—With the words of which anſwer the agents might be well enough ſatisfied, but the ſtate of the Engliſh nation was ſuch, that they might eaſily perceive there was little ground for them to hope for any conſiderable benefit from its aſſiſtance.

The want of proper ſupplies in Dublin occaſioned an order to be iſſued for the citizens of Dublin to bring in half their plate to be coined, and where money, which is reckoned the very ſinews of war, grew ſo ſlack, the lords juſtices thought their ſituation an extremely dangerous one. Twelve hundred pounds worth (and no more) of plate was brought in, in conſequence of this proclamation, and there was beſides ſo unpromiſing a proſpect of future affairs, that all apprehended government would be ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity.

To add to the misfortune, the army, whilſt it remained in Dublin, were much ſtraitened, and became very troubleſome to the inhabitants on which account it was reſolved that they ſhould endeavour at enlarging their quarters, and, in conſequence of that reſolution the marquis of Ormond left that city in March, at the head of three thouſand men, and having taken ſome other places, at length came before Roſs, and making a breach in the walls, endeavoured to take it by aſſault, but the attempt miſcarried; and afterwards general Preſton coming up with the Iriſh army under his command, the Engliſh were obliged to abandon the ſiege, and give him battle. In the beginning of the action a party of Ormond's horſe, either ſuſpecting that the general had betrayed them, or being ſtruck with a ſudden panick, fled, which was ſufficient to have diſmayed a larger army, nevertheleſs we are told that Ormond ſtood his ground with his infantry, and even obtained the victory. However, as the number of the enemy's ſlain was not conſiderable, and

as we hear nothing of Ormond's return to the ſiege, it is likely that all the advantage he gained was only that of forcing his way through them, which indeed was a conſiderable thing, conſidering that their numbers nearly doubled his.

— In the mean time the proteſtants and the confederates had frequent ſkirmiſhes in the different provinces, with various ſucceſs, to give a particular detail of which muſt neceſſarily prove tedious to the reader. Suffice it to ſay, that where the numbers were nearly equal, victory generally declared for the former, who were for the moſt part better armed and diſciplined than their enemies.— Yet having ſo little hope of ſupplies of men as they had at preſent, it ſeem'd apparent their men muſt at laſt be overpowered by the ſtorm which was every where burſting upon them.

The Scots arriving at Ulſter, had Carrickfergus delivered into their hands, and made Coleriane and the country round their quarters, and afterwards iſſuing forth, they defeated the Iriſh, took Newry, and hanged and put to the ſword many of their enemies, in revenge, as they ſaid, for what their countrymen had ſuffered by them.—— Afterwards they marched to Ardmagh, which the Iriſh burned, murdering according to ſome very moderate accounts no leſs than *five thouſand* proteſtants, whom they had in their power. The reader may form his own opinion of the likelihood of this matter; for my part I ſcruple not to pronounce it an abſolute falſity. Indeed I am ſo far from crediting theſe bloody tales, that I do not ſee any reaſon to ſuppoſe there were five thouſand, or even five hundred proteſtants murdered during the whole Iriſh war, unleſs thoſe who were ſlain in battle are added to ſwell the account.

The ſucceſſes of the Scots continued, and they were every where victorious till Owen Roe O'Neal came

came over from foreign parts into Ireland, which was his native place, at whoſe arrival his countrymen in general were beyond meaſure rejoiced, and he afterwards altered the face of affairs in Ulſter.

Whilſt all theſe things were paſſing, the confederate catholics had planned a kind of government of their own, of which it may not be amiſs here to give the reader ſome idea.

How much ſoever theſe aſſociates differed in political as well as in religious principles from the parliamentarians of England, yet like them (though with the greateſt profeſſions of loyalty to his majeſty) they ſeemed bent upon ſetting up a republic, which was to be ruled by their own members, independant of the eſtabliſhed government of the country; and to this form of a commonwealth they were reſolved moſt ſtrictly to adhere, at leaſt till they could get their own terms by war or treaty, or were themſelves totally ſubdued by force of arms.

For theſe purpoſes their titular clergy firſt aſ- Cox.
ſembled at Kilkenny, and made ſeveral rules relative to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch order as they wiſhed might prevail among them; and did there reſolve, That peace ſhould not be made but with the common conſent of all the provinces; that adverſaries to one town or province ſhould be ſo to all; that an oath ſhould be taken to that purpoſe, and that all refuſers of that oath ſhould be held enemies, and in conſequence ſhould be proſecuted as ſuch by the confederacy.

After this there was a general aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and others the repreſentatives of the confederates at Kilkenny, who made many other ordinances among which were the following;

"That the popiſh church in Ireland ſhould enjoy all privileges according to Magna Charta, and that the common law of England, and all ſtatutes not inconſiſtent with the freedom of religion, and the liberty of the ſubject ſhould be of force.—— That allegiance ſhould be continued to the king; and his prerogative ſupported. That the laws ſhould be executed as well as the circumſtance of war, and the abſence from Dublin would permit.—— That a ſupreme council of twenty-four ſhould be eſtabliſhed, twelve whereof were conſtantly to reſide, and one of them to be Preſident, and nine to be a quorum, of which ſeven were to concur, to make any vote obligatory, and if a greater number were preſent, than two thirds to agree. This council was to have authority over all officers civil and military, to name ſheriffs, provoſt-marſhals, &c. and to do any thing for the advantage of the cauſe. They were likewiſe to determine capital cauſes, and all other matters, except titles of lands, and were to have a guard of five hundred foot, and two hundred horſe.

They alſo erected provincial and county councils, enacting, "That the former might receive appeals from the latter, and try cauſes as the judges of aſſize and goal-delivery were uſed to do, but not to meddle with titles of lands, except dowers, and jointures. And the county councils were to have the power of ſeſſions of peace, and an additional authority to determine perſonal affairs.—— The ſheriff in each county was to be provoſt-marſhal, and might execute any man not worth five pounds, for any capital offence, giving the offender twenty-four hours time, wherein to prepare his ſoul."

They ordained alſo, "That every one ſhould quit the poſſeſſion he had wrongfully gotten, and, to avoid

avoid debate, That all eſtates ſhould continue as they were poſſeſſed for the three laſt years paſt, unleſs ſuch the title were determined or redeemed.

They ordered alſo that the popiſh wife of an enemy ſhould ſue and be ſued as if her huſband had been naturally dead, and that the poſſeſſions of the proteſtant clergy in right of the church ſhould be deemed the poſſeſſions of the catholic clergy. That no man impriſoned by one council ſhould be releaſed by another, and that no protection ſhould be given to the enemy or their ſervants without ſpecial order.

They alſo ordered proclamation to be made in the month of October, to invite all the *adherents of the Engliſh*, of what nation ſoever, to come over to them (the confederates) by the laſt day of November; they ordered a ſeal to be made, appointed a committee to inquire how money and ammunition ſent from foreign parts had been diſpoſed of, appointed auditors of accounts, who were charged to examine what had been made of proteſtants rents, goods, or chattles, and ordered that the enemy ſhould *not* be called proteſtants or Engliſh, but the puritanical or malignant party.

The lords of Caſtlehaven and Gormanſtown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Phelim O'Neal, Rory Maguire and others of note amongſt them, were then appointed to preſcribe a form of government, and the prelates were ordered to enjoin the prieſts to adminiſter their oath of aſſociation to every pariſhioner, and to take his ſubſcription, which oath was to be ſolemnly given after confeſſion and the ſacrament in the pariſh church, and the names of all perſons of rank and quality that took it to be enrolled.

At the ſame time they had taken care to provide for trade, in a clauſe of one their public ordinances, which enjoined that merchants and their ſhips ſhould be protected in their importations;

while they took no leſs care to ordain, That there ſhould be commiſſioners appointed in every part, to view the arms and ammunition that ſhould be imported, and to certify the ſame to the ſupreme council.

This ſupreme council which was to govern and conduct the whole machine, was nominated on the fourteenth day of November, when the following perſons were choſen:

LEINSTER,
- Archbiſhop of Dublin, jurat.
- Viſcount Gormanſtown, jurat.
- Viſcount Mountgarret, jur. & reſid.
- Nicholas Plunket, jur. & reſid.
- Richard Beling, jur. & reſid.
- James Cuſack, jur. & reſid.

CONNAUGHT,
- Archbiſhop of Tuam, jurat.
- Viſcount Mayo,
- Biſhop of Clonfert, jur. & reſid.
- Sir Lucas Dillon, jurat.
- Patrick Darcy, jur. & reſid.
- Geofry Brown, jur. & reſid.

MUNSTER,
- Viſcount Roch, jur. & reſid.
- Sir Daniel O'Brian,
- Edmond Fitzmorris, jur.
- Dr. Fannel, jur.
- Robert Lambart, jur. & reſid.
- George Comyn, jur.

ULSTER,
- Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, jur. & re.
- Biſhop of Down, jur. & reſid.
- Philip O'Reyly, jur. & reſid.
- Colonel Mac Mahon, jur.
- Ever Mac Gennis, jur.
- Tirlogh O'Neal

And

And on the fifteenth day of the ſame month, they appointed the lord Mountgarret to be preſident, and Richard Shea to be clerk of this ſupreme council: — the next day they ordered horſe and foot to be levied for their ſervice, five thouſand three hundred of the foot, and five hundred and twenty horſe to go to the army, and the reſt to be for garriſons and other places of defence. The king's revenue was ordered to be gathered up for making a common ſtock for the uſe of the kingdom, and the earl of Caſtlehaven was appointed to deviſe an order of knighthood, for the honour of the nobility and gentry of the nation. Theſe and many other articles of leſs conſequence were ordained by the general aſſembly, who on breaking up had left the whole authority in the ſupreme council: and this was the form of government which they ſet up againſt that of monarchy in Ireland.

In the mean time, in England, Charles having ſent a meſſage to the parliament of England, importing, that he had reſolved to go over in perſon to ſuppreſs that Iriſh rebellion, and deſiring them to provide for the pay of two thouſand two hundred men, to be armed at Weſtcheſter from his own magazine of Hull, and ſent as a guard for his perſon, (when he ſhould come into Ireland) they returned his majeſty the following anſwer.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"Your Majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful ſubjects the lords and commons now in parliament, have duly conſidered the meſſage received from your majeſty, concerning your purpoſe of going into Ireland in your own perſon, to proſecute the war there, with the bodies of your Engliſh ſubjects levied, tranſported, and maintained at their charge; which you are pleaſed to propound to us, not as a matter wherein your majeſty deſires the advice

advice of your parliament, but as already firmly reſolved on, and forthwith to be put in execution, by granting out commiſſions for the levying of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, for a guard for your perſon when you ſhall come into that kingdom: wherein we cannot chuſe but with all reverence and humility to your majeſty, obſerve that you have declined your great council, the parliament and varried from the uſual courſe of your royal predeceſſors; that a buſineſs of ſo great importance, concerning the peace and ſafety of all your ſubjects, wherein they have a ſpecial intereſt by your majeſty's promiſes, and by thoſe great ſums which they have diſcharged and for which they ſtand engaged, ſhould be concluded and undertaken without their advice. Whereupon we hold it our duty to declare, that if at this time your Majeſty ſhould go into Ireland, you will very much endanger the ſafety of your royal perſon and kingdoms, and of all other ſtates profeſſing the proteſtant religion in chriſtendom, and make way to the execution of that cruel and bloody deſign the papiſts, have in a great part already effected in that kingdom, and in all likelihood would quickly be attempted in other places, if the conſideration of the ſtrength and union of the two nations of England and Scotland, did not much hinder and diſcourage the execution of any ſuch deſign. And that we may manifeſt to your Majeſty the danger and miſery which ſuch a journey and enterprize would produce, we preſent to your Majeſty the reaſons of this our humble opinion and advice.

I. Your royal perſon will be ſubject not only to the caſualty of war, but to ſecret practices snd conſpiracies, eſpecially for your Majeſty's continuing your profeſſion to maintain the proteſtant religion in that kingdom, which the papiſts are generally bound by their vow to extirpate.

II. It

II. It will exceedingly encourage the rebels who do generally profeſs and declare your Majeſty doth favour and allow their proceedings, and that this inſurrection was undertaken by the warrant of your commiſſion; and it will make good their expectation of great advantage by your Majeſty's preſence, at this time of ſo much diſtraction in the kingdom, whereby they may hope we ſhall be diſabled to ſupply the war there, eſpecially there appearing leſs neceſſity of yonr Majeſty's journey at this time by reaſon of the manifeſt ſucceſſes which God hath given againſt them.

III. It will much hinder and impair the means whereby this war is to be ſupported, and increaſe the charge of it, and in both theſe reſpects make more inſupportable to your ſubjects. And this we can confidently affirm, becauſe many of the adventurers who have already ſubſcribed, do, upon the knowledge of your Majeſty's intention, declare their reſolution not to pay in their money; and others very willing to have ſubſcribed, do now profeſs the contrary.

IV. Your Majeſty's abſence muſt neceſſarily very much interrupt the proceedings of parliament, and deprive your ſubjects of the benefit of thoſe farther acts of grace and juſtice, which we ſhall humbly expect from your Majeſty, for the eſtabliſhing of a perfect union and mutual confidence between your Majeſty and your people, and procuring and confirming the proſperity of both.

V. It will exceedingly increaſe the jealouſies and fears of your people, and render their doubts more probible, of ſome force intended by ſome evil counſels near your Majeſty, in oppoſition of the parliament and favour of the malignant party in this kingdom.

VI. It will bereave your parliament of that advantage whereby they were induced to undertake the war,

war, upon your majeſty's promiſe that it ſhould be managed by their advice, which cannot be done, if your majeſty contrary to their counſels ſhall undertake to order and govern it in your own perſon.

Upon which, and for divers other reaſons, we have reſolved by the full and concurring agreement of both houſes, that we cannot, with diſcharge of our duty, conſent to any levies or raiſing of ſoldiers, to be made by your majeſty for this your intended expedition into Ireland; or to the payment of any army or ſoldiers there, but ſuch as ſhall be employed and governed according to our advice and direction; and that if any ſuch levies ſhall be made by any commiſſion of your majeſty (not agreed to by both houſes of parliament) we ſhall be forced to interpret the ſame, to be raiſed to the terror of your people, and diſturbance of the public peace, and hold ourſelves bound by the laws of the kingdom to apply the authority of parliament to ſuppreſs the ſame.

And we do farther moſt humbly declare, that if your majeſty ſhall by ill counſel be perſuaded to go, contrary to this advice of your parliament, (which we hope your majeſty will not) we do not in that caſe hold ourſelves bound to ſubmit to any commiſſioners whom your majeſty ſhall chuſe, but do reſolve to preſerve and govern the kingdom, by the counſel and advice of parliament, for your majeſty and your poſterity, according to our allegiance, and the law of the land.

Wherefore we moſt humbly pray and adviſe your majeſty to deſiſt from this your intended paſſage into Ireland, and from all preparations of men and arms tending thereunto, and to leave the management of that war to your parliament, according to your majeſty's promiſe made unto us, and your royal commiſſion granted under your

your great ſeal of England, by advice of both houſes, in proſecution whereof, by God's bleſſing, we have already made a proſperous entrance, by many defeats of the rebels, whereby they are much weakened and diſheartened, and have no probable means of ſubſiſtance, if are proceeding ſhall not be interrupted by this interpoſition of your majeſty's journey, by that we may hope upon good grounds that within a ſhort time, without hazard of your majeſty's perſon, and ſo much dangerous confuſion to your kingdoms (which muſt needs enſue) if you ſhould proceed in this reſolution; we ſhall be enabled fully to vindicate your majeſty's right and authority in that kingdom, and puniſh thoſe horrible outragious cruelties which have been committed, in the murdering and ſpoiling ſo many of your ſubjects, and bring that realm to ſuch a condition as may be much for the advantage of your majeſty and this crown, the honour of your government, and the contentment of your people. For the better and more ſpeedy effecting whereof, we do again renew our humble deſires of your return to your parliament, and that you will pleaſe to reject all counſels and apprehenſions which may any way derogate from that faithfulneſs and allegiance, which in truth and ſincerity we have always borne and profeſſed to your majeſty, and ſhall ever make good to the uttermoſt with our lives and fortunes."

To this anſwer the king made the following reply:

"WE are ſo troubled and aſtoniſhed to find the unexpected reception and miſunderſtanding of our meſſage of the eighth of April, concerning our Iriſh journey, that being ſo much diſappointed of the approbation and thanks we looked for to that declaration, we have great cauſe to doubt whether

whether it be in our power to ſay or do any thing which ſhall not fall within the like interpretation. But as we have in that meſſage called God to witneſs the ſincerity of the profeſſion of our only ends, for the undertaking that journey: ſo we muſt appeal to all our good ſubjects, and the whole world, whether the reaſons alledged againſt that journey be of weight to ſatisfy our underſtanding, or the counſel preſented, to perſuade us from it, be full of that duty to us, which is likely to prevail over our affections.

For our reſolving of ſo great a buſineſs without the advice of our parliament;—we muſt remember you, how often by our meſſages we made the ſame offer, if you ſhould adviſe us thereunto, to which you never gave us the leaſt anſwer; but in your late declaration told us, that ye were not to be ſatisfied with *words*, ſo that we had reaſon to conceive you rather avoided (out of regard to our perſon) to give us counſel to run that hazard, than that you diſapproved the inclination. And what greater comfort or ſecurity can the proteſtants of Chriſtendom receive, than by ſeeing a proteſtant king venture and engage his perſon for the defence of that profeſſion, and the ſuppreſſion of popery, to which we ſolemnly proteſted in that meſſage never to grant a toleration upon what pretence ſoever, or an abolition of any of the laws there in force, againſt the profeſſors of it. And when we conſider the great calamities, and unheard of cruelties our poor proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom have undergone for the ſpace of near or full ſix months, the growth and increaſe of the ſtrength of thoſe barbarous rebels, and the evident probability of foreign ſupplies (if they are not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed) the very ſlow ſuccours hitherto ſent them from hence; that the officers of ſeveral regiments, who have long time been allowed entertainment from

you

you for that ſervice have not raiſed any ſupply or ſuccour for that kingdom. That many troops of horſe have long lain near Cheſter untranſported,—that the lord lieutenant of Ireland on whom we relied principally for the conduct and managing of affairs there is ſtill in this kingdom, notwithſtanding our earneſtneſs expreſſed, that he ſhould repair to his command; and when we conſider the many and great ſcandals raiſed upon ourſelves by the report of the rebels, and not ſufficiently diſcountenanced here, notwithſtanding ſo many profeſſions of ours, and had ſeen a book lately printed by the order of the houſe of commons, intitled, "A Remonſtrance of divers remarkable paſſages, concerning the church and kingdom of Ireland:" wherein ſome examinations are ſet down, which (how improbable or impoſſible ſoever) may make an impreſſion on the minds of many of our weak ſubjects;—and laſtly when we have duly weighed the diſhonour, which will perpetually lie upon this kingdom, if full and ſpeedy relief be not diſpatched thither, we could not nor can think of a better way of diſcharging our duty to Almighty God, for the defence of the true proteſtant profeſſion or to manifeſt our affection to our three kingdoms for their preſervation, than by engaging our perſon in this expedition, as many of our royal progenitors have done, even in foreign parts, upon cauſes of leſs importance and piety, with great honour to themſelves, and advantage to this kingdom; and therefore we expected at leaſt thanks for ſuch our inclination.

For the danger of our perſon; we conceive it neceſſary and worthy of a king to adventure his life to preſerve his kingdom; neither can it be imagined that we will ſit ſtill and ſuffer our kingdom to be loſt, and our good proteſtant ſubjects be maſſacred without expoſing our own perſon to the utmoſt hazard for their relief and preſervation; our

our life when it was moſt pleaſant, being nothing ſo precious to us, as it is and ſhall be to govern and preſerve our people with honour and juſtice.

For any encouragement to the rebels becauſe of the report they raiſed, we cannot conceive, that the rebels are capable of a greater terror, than by the preſence of their lawful king at the head of an army: beſides it will be an unſpakable advantage to them, if any reports of theirs could hinder us from doing any thing, which were fit for us to do if ſuch reports were not raiſed; this would quickly teach them in this jealous age to prevent by ſuch reports any other perſons from coming againſt them whom they had no mind ſhould be employed.

We marvel that the adventurers, whoſe advantage was a principal motive (next the reaſon before mentioned) to us, ſhould ſo much miſtake our purpoſe whoſe intereſt we conceive, muſt be much improved by the expedition we hope (by God's bleſſing) to uſe in this ſervice, this being the moſt probable way for the ſpeedy conqueſt of the rebels; and their lands are ſufficiently ſecured by act of parliament.

We think not ourſelf kindly uſed that the addition of ſo few men to your levies (for a guard to our perſon in Ireland) ſhould be thought fit for your refuſal, and much more, that having uſed ſo many cautions in that meſſage, both in the ſmallneſs of the number; in our having raiſed none until your anſwer; in their being to be raiſed only near their place of ſhipping; in their being there to be armed, and not till they were ready to be ſhipped: in the proviſion by the oath, that none of them ſhould be papiſt (all which appear ſufficient to deſtroy all grounds of jealouſy, of any malignant party) any ſuſpicions ſhould notwithſtanding be grounded upon it.

Neither

Neither can it be underſtood, when we recommended the managing of that war to you, that we intended to exclude ourſelf, nor to be concerned in your counſels; or that if we found any expedient, which in our conſcience or underſtanding, we thought neceſſary for that great work, we might not put it in practice, we look upon you our great council, whoſe advice we always have, and will (with great regard and deliberation) weigh and conſider: but we look upon ourſelf as neither deprived of our royal underſtanding, nor diveſted of any right we had: if there were no parliament ſitting. We called you together by our own writ and authority (without which you could not have met) to give us faithful counſel about our great affairs: but we reſigned not our own intereſt and freedom; we never ſubjected ourſelf to your abſolute determination; we have always weighed your counſels, as proceeding from a body entruſted by us; and when we have diſſented from you, we have returned you the reaſons which prevailed with our conſcience and underſtanding, with that candour a prince ſhould uſe towards his ſubjects, and that affection which a father can expreſs to his children. What application hath been uſed to rectify our underſtanding by reaſon, or what motive have been given to perſuade our affection, we leave all the world to judge: and then we muſt tell you, howſoever a major part may bind you in matter of opinion, we hold ourſelf; (and we are ſure the law and conſtitution of the kingdom have always held the ſame) as free to diſſent, till our reaſon be convinced for the general good, as if you delivered no opinion.

For our journey itſelf;—the circumſtance of your petition is ſuch as we know not well what anſwer to return or whether we had beſt to give any. That part which pretends to carry reaſon with it, doth no way ſatisfy us: the other, which

is rather reprehenſion and menace than advice, cannot ſtagger us.—Our anſwer therefore is, That we ſhall be very glad to find the work of Ireland ſo eaſy as you ſeem to think it; which did not ſo appear by any thing known to us, when we ſent our meſſage. And though we will never refuſe, or be unwilling to venture our perſon for the good and ſafety of our people, we are not ſo weary of our life as to hazard it impertinently; and therefore, ſince you ſeem to have received advertiſement of ſome late and great ſucceſſes in that kingdom, we will ſtay ſome time to ſee the event of thoſe, and not purſue this reſolution till we have given you a ſecond notice. But if we find the miſerable condition of our poor ſubjects of that kingdom be not ſpeedily relieved, we will (with God's aſſiſtance) viſit it with ſuch ſuccours as our particular credit and intereſt can ſupply us with, if you refuſe to join with us: and we doubt not but the leagues we ſhall make (in which we will obſerve punctually the former and all other cautions that may beſt prevent all fears and jealouſies, and to uſe no power but what is legal) will be ſo much to the ſatisfaction of our ſubjects, as that no perſon will dare to reſiſt our commands; and if they ſhould, at their peril. In the mean time, we hope our forwardneſs ſo remarkable to that ſervice ſhall be notorious to all the world, and that all ſcandals laid on us in that buſineſs ſhall be clearly wiped away.

We were ſo careful that our journey into Ireland ſhould not intercept the proceedings of parliament, not deprive our ſubjects of any acts of juſtice, or farther acts of grace, for the real benefit of our people, that we made free offer of leaving ſuch power behind, as ſhould not only be neceſſary for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, but fully provided for the happy progreſs of the parliament.

And

And therefore we cannot but wonder ſince ſuch power hath been always left here by commiſſion for the government of the ſame, during the ſitting of parliament; and ſince yourſelves deſired that ſuch a power might be left here by us, at our going into Scotland, what law of the land ye have now found, to diſpenſe with you from not ſubmitting to ſuch authority, legally derived from us in our abſence, and to enable you to govern this kingdom by your own mere authority.

—For our return towards London, we have given you ſo full an anſwer in our late declaration, and in anſwer to your petition preſented to us at York, on the twenty-ſixth of March laſt, that we know not what to add; if you will not provide for our ſecurity with you, nor agree to remove to another place where there may not be the ſame danger to us.—We expected that, ſince we had been ſo particular in the cauſes and grounds of our fears, you ſhould have ſent us word that you had publiſhed ſuch declarations againſt future tumults and unlawful aſſemblies, and taken ſuch courſes, for ſuppreſſing ſeditious ſermons and pamphlets, that our fears of that kind might be laid aſide, before you ſhould preſs our return.

To conclude; we could wiſh you would, with the ſame ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, weigh and examine your meſſages and expreſſions to us, as you do thoſe you receive from us; for we are very confident, that if you examine our rights and privileges by what our predeceſſors have enjoyed, and your addreſſes by the uſual courſes of your anceſtors, you will find many expreſſions in this petition warranted only by your own authority, which indeed we forbear to take notice of, or to give anſwer to, leſt we ſhould be tempted, in a juſt indignation, to expreſs a greater paſſion than we are yet willing to put on. God, in his good time, we

hope, will ſo inform the hearts of all our ſubjects, that we ſhall recover from the miſchief and danger of this diſtemper; on whoſe good pleaſure we will wait with all patience and humility."——

To ſuch rational meſſages, the parliament returned nothing but unjuſt complaints and revilings, (which were partly occaſioned, however, by the king's having afterwards, ſent to deſire they would retract an order they had made to diſpute of one hundred thouſand pounds of the adventurers money, contrary to the expreſs words of the act of parliament, and to the great prejudice of the affairs of Ireland,) recriminating according to their cuſtom, and having affirmed it was a breach of privilege thus to addreſs them, they vouchſafed to declare that they would repay the money—*when it ſuited them.*

Theſe extracts, and this detail of circumſtances I have thought proper to inſert, to ſhew where the true cauſe that the Iriſh were not ſubdued, really originated, it remains now to inform the reader, that as ſoon as the lords juſtices had notice of his majeſty's intention, they ſent him a dutiful letter of thanks and encouragement. Nevertheleſs, the deſign was baffled by the Engliſh parliament which reduced the government of Ireland to great extremities.

For by this time the Engliſh army was ſo much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and ſuch like circumſtances that it was obliged to return to Dublin, notwithſtanding the lord juſtices had written a preſſing letter to the lieutenant general, not to take that ſtep, the citizens being in the ſame circumſtances: and on their return the ſoldiers plundered the markets, whereupon this proceeding being ſtopped by proclamation, and ſome offenders puniſhed, many of the officers preſented a threatening remonſtrance to the government, and things

ſeemed

ſeemed to tend towards making confuſion and diſorder.— About the ſame time, Sir William Parſons was removed from his office, and Sir John Burlace and Sir Henry Tichburn were conſtituted lords juſtices, Parſons having become very diſagreeable to many moderate perſons, on account of his violent meaſures and attachment to the puritan party.

At length the lords juſtices and council found things running to confuſion. Being preſſed by neceſſity, they had recourſe to new taxes. Theſe additional burdens did but help to increaſe it.—And at this juncture his majeſty ordered the marquis of Ormond to conclude a ceſſation of arms with the confederates. But though the king wrote no leſs than four letters upon this ſubject, there being yet ſome in council who ſtrongly oppoſed the meaſure, it was ſome time before any notice was publicly taken of it. ——But the marquis of Ormond making a motion, that the ceſſation muſt be concluded unleſs ten thouſand pounds (one half in money, and the other in proviſions) could be raiſed and brought in within a fortnight, the mayor of the city being called before the board, and averring this to be impoſſible the ſame was regiſtered in the council-book, and after ſome delays the marquis agreed to meet the rebels on the twenty-third day of June, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-three, in order to treat with them for that purpoſe.

In the interval of time, the war had been carried on with various ſucceſſes in the different provinces, but, on the whole, moſtly to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh, who had too little proſpect of ſupplies either of men or proviſions to get the upper-hand of their enemies.

On the one hand, colonel Monk had the good fortune to defeat a party of the Iriſh at a paſs on the Boyne; and in Ulſter, Monroe gave Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neal a great check:—But on the

other hand, in Connaught the Iriſh were victorious, the fort Galway was ſurrendered to them, and they were beſieging Caſtle-Coot, when the news of the ceſſation of arms, put an end to their views and operations.——In Munſter the lord of Inchiquin dividing his army, himſelf marched weſtward; while Sir Charles Vavaſor, wheeling off to the weſtward, took Mac Thomas's caſtle; and other forts in the county of Waterford. After this, the army rendezvouſed at Bottivant, whence a party was ſent to plunder in the county of Kerry, who returned with ſucceſs.—Then the troops marched to Killmallock; but at length Sir Charles Vavaſer, after having taken the caſtle of Cloghleagh, where he violated a ſolemn promiſe of quarter, which he had given to the garriſon, he with all his force, was attacked and routed by the earl of Caſtlehaven, ſix hundred Engliſh being ſlain in the engagement, and himſelf with many others made priſoners by the confederates, after which victory the latter marched towards Leinſter.

Such was the condition of Ireland, which the Engliſh parliament had declared, they had good ground to hope they ſhould in a ſhort time be enabled to ſubdue.—Yet when the government of Ireland juſtly complained that their difficulties were occaſioned by the failures of this parliament, the latter received a letter of reproach upon the occaſion which they ſmartly anſwered, confirming their firſt aſſertion, and juſtly aſſerting that they had actually given them full, frequent and ſeaſonable notice of all their wants, and (in regard they had the management of the war) knew not where elſe to lay the blame.

But there was one to whoſe charge the Engliſh parliament, were willing enough to lay this and every other miſcarriage, namely the king himſelf; though certainly he was not to be blamed in the matter,

matter, whereas their leaſt neglect after their frequent profeſſions of zeal for the ſervice, was in every reſpect moſt unpardonable.

It is indeed well known that with regard to this ceſſation, and the peace afterwards concluded with the Iriſh, Charles has been moſt unmercifully railed at, and his memory is ſtill execrated by ſome, who ſeem to be little acquainted with the times in which he lived.—As there is nothing more eaſy than to acquire a train of prejudices and falſe ideas, ſo perhaps there is nothing much more difficult than to get rid of them. It is, however, the buſineſs of an impartial hiſtorian to point them out as plainly as poſſible, without regarding parties, or yielding before the current of popular opinions.

Let us conſider the firſt part of Charles's reign in what light we may, it is certain that at that period which we have now been treating of, he was willing to give every juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to his people, and to grant them every ſecurity for their liberties that they could with propriety demand. Yet, having to deal with a ſet of men who pretended to repreſent them, he found all efforts vain to come to a right underſtanding in the affairs of government. The moderation of theſe men decreaſing in proportion to the increaſe of their ſucceſs, the king found that they wiſhed to ſtrip him of all power, and, what to him was ſtill more cutting, to make him publickly yield to the abolition of that form of religion which he was privately moſt zealouſly attached to, and which he had ſworn publicly to maintain. He ſaw that inſtead of levying men for the Iriſh ſervice, they were rather inclined to levy war againſt himſelf. He found all his offers rejected, his words purpoſely miſconſtrued, and his perſon ſo much vilified and

inſulted, that he could not ſtay in or near his capital either with honour or ſafety. He was in this ſituation when he ſet up his ſtandard, which his rebellious ſubjects termed *firſt declaring war againſt his people*: a matter abſurd in the very idea of it.—The conſequences proved that the parliament had been long before preparing for a rupture, a circumſtance that ſufficiently juſtified their prince in this meaſure. The war once kindled, it was too evident he had nothing to hope for from that puritan aſſembly, though he was weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be cajoled and deprived of the advantages he had gained, or was likely to gain over them, by liſtening to their overtures for a peace, which preſently came to nothing.—They had, by this time, raiſed ſoldiers by his own authority againſt him, they had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Scotland, and moved Heaven and earth in their quarrel againſt their lawful monarch. Conſidering how he was likely to be preſſed by thoſe iron-hearted men, and forſeeing that it would be impoſſible for either party, till both were united, effectually to carry on the Iriſh war, how can the candid, the judicious, the humane, hold him criminal for a procedure to which he was abſolutely forced from motives of ſelf-preſervation?—The ceſſation of arms, the recal of the Engliſh army, the attempt to engage Iriſh troops in his ſervice to defend him from his inveterate perſecutors, are all certainly juſtifiable upon this principle.

It is likewiſe to be obſerved that whatever were the firſt deſigns of the catholics of Ireland, they now certainly offered to become loyal ſubjects, and, in the ſequel, many of them loſt their eſtates and lives in his ſervice.—They acted upon principles imitative of the Scots and Engliſh, for religion was not only the pretended, it was the

the *real* and principal cauſe of their inſurrection; why then had not the king a right to cloſe with one ſet of rebels as well as with the other.—The latter had always the preference; though at laſt they committed an action that the others, bad as they were, would have ſhuddered at.

But the unhappy king was aſperſed, and accuſed of inſincerity by both parties; for, while the Parliamentarians in England charged him of partiality in favour of the Iriſh, the Iriſh ſcrupled not to cenſure him for his want of candour in his dealings with them.——True it is, that this hapleſs prince's embarraſſments did ſometimes oblige him to temporize; but could the moſt prudent and the moſt virtuous perſon in his ſituation poſſibly have done otherwiſe?—Certainly not.—The proteſtants ſaid he was too much inclined to the catholics. The catholics thought him to be their enemy, and averred, in juſtification of their own conduct, that nothing but neceſſity could have brought him to grant them any conceſſions, and for that very reaſon it was ſcarcely ſafe to truſt him when he did ſo. Both parties argued from prejudice, upon falſe grounds, and neither ſpoke the truth. Charles was a zealous ſon of the church of England, alike averſe to catholics and puritans, when either of them attempted to invad what he conceived to be the rights of that church,—but of a diſpoſition eaſily to be perſuaded to grant all manner of indulgence alike to either, while they kept within proper bounds. To abridge epiſcopacy in favour of Puritans was what nothing but the greateſt diſtreſs of himſelf and his moſt faithful friends could have made him entertain a thought of. To grant churches and church government abſolutely to the papiſts of Ireland was what he would have died rather than have

have conſented to; nay, it was what he really loſt his life, becauſe he did not timely agree with, Perhaps this bigotry to his own church was a weakneſs, perhaps he had better, in point of prudence have agreed with either of theſe parties, than have rendered both diſſatisfied, and thereby wrought his own deſtruction. Yet, in point of *conſcience* he was certainly right, and if, in the midſt of the miſeries and unforſeen misfortunes that enſued he was ever heard to drop an expreſſion, intimating that he wiſhed he had not been ſo ſtrict (as ſome aſſert) what unprejudiced perſon, who is poſſeſſed of the feelings of humanity will not excuſe him!

With reſpect to the Iriſh catholics, he certainly never meant to ſee them triumphant, he certainly was ſo far from being concerned in, that he deteſted their inſurrection. Yet he doubtleſs diſapproved of thoſe meaſures, which were urged as excuſes for driving all, and really did drive ſome part of them into rebellion, and, both before and after that dreadful event would willingly have delivered his ſubjects of that country from oppreſſion, and, from a truly Chriſtian ſpirit, would have tolerated a religion whoſe tenets he did not approve.

It muſt be acknowledged on all hands, that the king from the very beginning of his diſputes with the Engliſh parliament was moſt cruelly perplexed in his affairs; he was expoſed by many betrayed by ſome, loyally obeyed by few, and effectually ſerved by none.—His having married a Roman Catholic princeſs added to his embarraſments, and the more tenderly he loved her, as ſhe was become odious to the generality even of his loyal ſubjects, the greater was his unhappineſs. In the affairs of Ireland it was almoſt impoſſible, from

from the nature of things but that ſhe muſt ſometimes interfere, and towards the decline of the favour of the royal party, ſhe was in ſome inſtances more attended to by the Iriſh than the king himſelf, who being under the influence of his ſubjects factions was obliged to refer many things to her which otherwiſe he would himſelf have ſettled. This princeſs, whatever her private character might be, was but ill ſuited to govern proteſtants or indeed Engliſhmen of any denomination. Her ill-concerted meaſures were greatly inſtrumental in kindling the civil war in England, and, by a conduct founded on the ſame principles ſhe ſeems to have kept that alive in Ireland, though it is moſt certain ſhe heartily wiſhed it to be extinguiſhed. Amidſt all theſe difficulties and perplexities at home and abroad, what could be expected from Charles, even if he had been a man endowed with much greater talents for government than ever fell to the ſhare of any of the Stuarts?——It is plain that in the matter in preſent debate, he did nothing but what he had both a legal right to do, and what he was impelled to by abſolute neceſſity. If he had been the author or abettor of this inſurrection; if he had from the firſt wiſhed well to the confederates as the eſpouſers of his cauſe, and had only ſtirred them up with a view of maſtering the Engliſh and Scots by their means, how came it that he did not at once cloſe with them, and how can the difficulty with which he granted them any conceſſions be at all accounted for? And what were the conceſſions he granted? Were they ſo great as thoſe inſiſted upon by the Puritans of England, and which though equally deſtructive of the eſtabliſhed religion, he was moſt cruelly cenſured for not conſenting to? In effect, he at laſt allowed nothing to the catholics but that liberty of conſcience, and of worſhipping God in their own way, againſt which

though

though, for particular political reaſons there were laws enacted, yet, in an enlightened age and a civilized country, ſurely no man ſhould be blamed for aſſerting as the undoubted and inherent right of any Chriſtian man or ſet of men whatſoever while they demean themſelves quietly to the government under which they live? Indeed, even queen Elizabeth, whoſe acts and reign were chiefly quoted by the violent zealots for perſecution, was far from being ſevere in her requiſitions concerning religion in Ireland, where the laws in force againſt the catholics were not, at leaſt, ſo ſeverely executed as it was now contended they ought to be; her majeſty declaring, That ſhe wiſhed the Iriſh to ſee that ſhe purſued none in thoſe parts for religion." —— A declaration which the queen moſt certainly made, though indeed many exceſſes were committed under the ſanction of her royal authority. If then the king muſt make ſome conceſſions to a party, as was abſolutely the caſe, the moſt moderate ones were undoubtedly the beſt, and it is plain that he at laſt did only grant moderate ones to the catholics, who were to engage, in conſequence of theſe, to become loyal ſubjects, and every where to fight his battles. The Puritans and their adherents, he plainly ſaw, confined themſelves to one point, but when one diſpute was agreed proceeded to another; they were reſolved to ſtrip him of all the power, if not of the very name of a king, whereas the catholics, in the midſt of their exceſſes, had at leaſt made ſome ſhew of allegiance, profeſſed to reſpect his perſon, and to be tender of his prerogatives, though they ſometimes uſurped them; and with all this they ſeemed to have but *one* grand point in view, which granted, they muſt return to obedience, and ſerve him moſt faithfully, or be branded as the worſt of villains, judging them

them even by their own words: Charles and his miniſters found a way to bring them in without entirely yielding up even this one demand, whereas nothing but abſolute compliance would ſatisfy the republicans. What wonder is there then that of two evils this unhappy prince was willing to chuſe that which was apparently the leaſt?——The wonder is rather, that he did not ſooner and more implicitly comply with the Iriſh, and thereby ſave his life and honour, and preſerve at leaſt *one* of the three kingdoms which he was born to poſſeſs.—One thing, however, is certain, that if he had fled to the inhabitants of Ireland, or indeed to the inhabitants of Morocco, he could not have been worſe treated, than when he ſurrendered himſelf to his own countrymen, and being by them delivered up, was brought as a criminal to his trial, while he was treating with the parliament, on terms of peace, upon the public faith of the nation.

But to return to the matter of the ceſſation:——Ormond, though he had promiſed to meet the rebels, as I mentioned above, was yet much perplexed and far from being pleaſed with his commiſſion. On the one hand, he well knew that many members of the council ſtill diſapproved the meaſure, and notwithſtanding the ſituation Dublin was in, were ſtruck with a kind of horror at the thoughts of treating with a people, whom they looked upon as ſavages. Some of them had loſt friends, relations, or property in this war, and thoſe, from a ſpirit of revenge untractable;—others heartily hated the confederated on account of their religion, and theſe, from a ſpirit of zeal, were implacable. Ormond himſelf, though on the whole a good man, and a friend to the king and his intereſts, being ſtrongly attached to the forms of the church of England, trembled

trembled at the conſequences which might enſue from the peace to which this ceſſation was intended as a prelude, and ſo far his own weight was thrown into the ſcale with the oppoſers.—But on the other hand, he conceived it highly neceſſary that there ſhould be an union in Ireland for his majeſty's ſervice in both kingdoms; and this principle ſwayed him to do all that was poſſible to reconcile things, and put an end to the ſcene of civil war.—Theſe laſt conſiderations preponderating, he went to the place appointed, reſolving to do all in his power to obey his prince, if he could do ſo, to the honour of his crown and dignity and the ſafety of the proteſtant religion as by law eſtabliſhed.

With theſe ſentiments, the marquis repaired to the congreſs, where he was met by the lord Gormanſtown, the lord Muſkerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Rober Talbot, Sir Hugh O'Neal, Geoffry Brown, Evev Mac Gennis, and John Walſh, who acted as commiſſioners for the confederates.—— Ormond receiving them in his tent near Caſtle Martin, ſitting and covered, but they appeared uncovered. He told them he was come to meet them according to their deſires, and added, That he expected their propoſals in writing. — After this they demanded to ſee his commiſſion, (expreſſing themſelves willing to ſhew theirs) ——and when they found that no body but his lordſhip was named in the king's commiſſion, as their authority was likewiſe to treat with him alone, they moved, That the negotiation might be kept ſecret till the matter was fully concluded. The marquis anſwered, That, as for the way of proceeding, he was entruſted therewith by his majeſty, and ſhould do nothing therein but what he conceived to be fit. Then he received a copy of their commiſſion, and let them

Cox.

them have a copy of his majeſty's letter of the third of May, ſixteen hundred and forty-one, and promiſed them, upon the concluſion of the treaty, a copy of his majeſty's letter of the twenty-third of April, ſixteen hundred and forty three, and then they tendered propoſitions; and having agreed that the ceſſation of arms ſhould be for a year, Ormond propoſed that they ſhould firſt declare what they would contribute towards the ſupport of his majeſty's army during that interval. To which they replied, "That when they knew what they had to give, they would aſſiſt his majeſty according to their utmoſt abilities, as on all occaſions they had heretofore done."

They met again at Sigginſtown, where the confederates declared that they would conſider on ſupplies when the ceſſation was firſt agreed upon. Then a diſpute aroſe concerning the name or title by which they ſhould be addreſſed, and their proteſtations, the marquis not being willing to allow what they deſigned in their public inſtruments to avow; namely, That they had taken arms in defence of their religion, his majeſty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of the kingdom, and no ways to oppoſe his majeſty's authority—[Here however, having granted to the confederated catholics, every thing which juſtice could claim of an hiſtorian, I cannot help obſerving that theſe men, made as many objections as others of the king's ſubjects to thoſe prerogratives they extolled, wherever they conceived *themſelves* oppreſſed by them, as in the earl of Strafford's adminiſtration, and at divers other times.—In ſuch inſtances we ſee the inſtability and inconſiſtency, not of a *party* but of *human nature* itſelf, and therefore they are worthy to be recorded.] But this was only one obſtacle out of many that retarded the buſineſs which Charles now began moſt ardently to wiſh were

were accompliſhed; yet ſo much political prudery paſſed between him and his miniſters, on the one part, and between them and the confederates on the other, that a man unacquainted with the nature of ſuch negotiations, would have thought none of the parties had the leaſt inclination to come to an agreement:—yet the contrary was really the caſe---all theſe deſired the ceſſation, and deſired a peace, but all from different views and motives---Charles wanted the matter ſettled, in order to check the arbitrary meaſures of the Puritan parliament, yet he wanted it done in ſuch a manner as to ſave his conſcience, and give no offence to his loyal proteſtant ſubjects, --Ormond wiſhed it accompliſhed in order to ſave his royal maſter whom he loved, and to deliver the kingdom he ruled from the miſeries of a civil war; but he deſired it might be done in ſuch a manner as might preſerve the king's conſequence and his own, in the ſcale of government, and give little or nothing up in point of his religion, for which at that time he ſeems to have been *zealous over-much*. Laſtly, the confederates (who were the moſt extravagant of all in their expectations) deſired to have firſt a ceſſation, and afterwards a peace entirely on their own terms, ſuch as might ſecure their honour, exculpate them from every charge of rebellion, inſtate them in the public practice of their religion not only by way of toleration, but as they expreſſed it *even in its greateſt ſplendour*.—It is no wonder, in this ſituation, that the parties were a long time before they could agree upon any thing.----The title of addreſs, the ſettling of quarters, the means of ſupply, the times of meeting, and an hundred frivolous pretexts, in conſequence, delayed even the beginning of this preliminary treaty, which indeed was big with all the miſcarriages of the future peace.——And the matter was in agitation from

June

June till September, when at laſt it was concluded, Ormond having firſt taken every precaution to throw off all blame from himſelf, if any ſhould be, and having conſulted the great men, who gave their opinion in the following inſtrument, before the particular preliminary treaty was concluded.

" WHEREAS, the lord marquis of Ormond demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the council-board to aſſiſt his lordſhip in the preſent treaty, as of other perſons of honour and command, that have ſince the beginning thereof repaired out of ſeveral parts of this kingdom to his lordſhip. They therefore *ſeriouſly conſidering how much his majeſty's army hath already ſuffered* for want of relief out of England, (though the ſame was often preſſed and importuned by his moſt gracious majeſty, who hath left nothing unattempted which might conduce to their ſupport and maintenance) and unto what common miſery not only the officers and ſoldiers, but others alſo his majeſty's good ſubjects within this kingdom are reduced;—and farther conſidering how many of his majeſty's *principal forts and places of ſtrength are at this preſent in great diſtreſs*, and the imminent danger the kingdom is likely to fall into;—and finding no poſſibility of proſecuting the war without farther ſupplies, *whereof they can apprehend no hope nor poſſibility in due time*: They for theſe cauſes do conceive it neceſſary for his majeſty's honour and ſervice that the lord marquis do aſſent to a ceſſation of arms for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his majeſty's commiſſion of this kingdom of Ireland.—Witneſs our hands, the fifteenth day of September, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-three."

Clanrickard and St. Albans	James Ware	John Gifford
Roſcommon	Michael Emly	Philip Percival
Richard Dungany	Foulk Huntly	Richard Jebſon
Edward Brabazon	John Powlet	Henry Warren
Inchiquin	Maurice Euſtace	Albanus Locky, *advocatus Regis.*
Thomas Lucas	Edward Povey	

Ormond having gotten the better of the catholics in the matter of their title, which he told them was not at that time proper to be uſed to him, and having beſides obtained from them the promiſe of a greater ſum of money than the Engliſh parliament had at any one time ſent over into that kingdom, it is not at all wonderful if we find his addreſs cried up at the Engliſh court, and the king rejoicing that he poſſeſſed ſo worthy a ſervant.—But this laſt conſideration, if indeed no other had exiſted, would have been of itſelf ſufficient to have given birth to other ſentiments in the breaſts of thoſe who compoſed the parliament. They treated this ceſſation with abhorrence and contempt. They averred it was deſtructive to the proteſtants of Ireland. They urged it would give the rebels time to recruit their forces; nay, ſo ridiculouſly abſurd were they as to obſerve, among other things, that it would keep the adventurers out of the fruits of their expences a twelve-month, (as if they had been abſolutely on the eve of ſubduing the iſland, though they had driven their prince to the neceſſity of withdrawing his army from thence, and knew very well that they alſo intended to recal all the Scots as well as Engliſh who had gone over thither on their account) abſurd as this method of argument was, ſince the proteſtants muſt be every way gainers by the ceſſation, if honourably adhered to, yet it ſerved for a pretence to impeach the marquis of Ormond, and nominally

nominally deprive him of this poſt in Ireland, declaring him incapable of holding any office for the future. Nay, ſo much were the minds of the Engliſh prejudiced by the falſe relations they had received concerning the affairs of Ireland, that even many of the cavaliers laid down their arms, and Holland left Oxford, ſaying, That his conſcience would not permit him to ſtay there any longer, now he had heard of the ceſſation.

Circumſtances like theſe would almoſt make one exclaim with the poet, "That Heaven firſt confounds the reaſon of thoſe whom it has devoted to deſtruction." Indeed one would have thought the Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh at this fatal period all poſſeſſed with ſuch a ſtrange phrenſy as led each of them to labour their own ruin.—The Engliſh, in particular, if they had not been loſt to all ſenſe of their own good, would never have run on from one error into another, as they did, and continually thwarted alike the king's intereſt and their own. But they were now arrived at ſuch a paſs that it was impoſſible to convince them of what was their real good, and thoſe only who endeavoured ſuch a conviction loſt their labour. The Scots though as yet in ſeeming amity with the parliament of England, were foſtering thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent which afterwards broke forth into open war between the two kingdoms.—The bulk of the people of both nations had learned a method of juſtifying every abſurd or evil action of their lives by quoting and wreſting the ſcriptures to authoriſe it. They adopted a kind of cant which they uſed upon all occaſions. Defacing churches, and aſſaulting the eſtabliſhed miniſters, was "Pulling down the high places, and exterminating the prieſts of Baal." Deſtroying the king's loyal ſubjects was "Slaying the Philiſtines." And, if by chance, a ſtraggling Iriſh-

man was taken, no quarter was to be given him, however innocent, becauſe "Samuel hewed Agag in pieces." Though if he had any thing valuable to be ſtripped of, they were not ſo ſcrupulous in deſtroying that, but reſerved it for an offering—not to the Lord indeed, but to their own inſatiable deſire of plunder.—With this kind of grimace they deceived others, and ſometimes even themſelves, and this it was that (together with the riches of the city of London) ſupported the parliament againſt their prince, and, in the end, worked both his and their own undoing.—In Ireland, the catholics, miſled by their chiefs, and groſly abuſed by their prieſts, had ſo long breathed nothing but war and deſtruction againſt the enemies of their religion, that when they ſaw themſelves at the eve of an accommodation, they were but little ſatisfied, and how ſincere ſoever the great men might now be in their deſire of putting an end to the war, yet there was a flame kindled which it was afterwards difficult for them to extinguiſh. They and the eccleſiaſtics had wound up the Iriſh to a pitch of malicious phrenſy as high as that to which the puritan chiefs and teachers had raiſed the Engliſh. Saints, miracles, relics, and charms, had been called in to the aſſiſtance of their cauſe, and to all this holy trumpery was added the pope's benediction, with the vain promiſes of aid from foreign princes, who either could not, or would not effectually aſſiſt them. Had theſe people been never ſo well diſpoſed to their rightful ſovereign in the beginning, a concurrence of ſuch circumſtances would have been enough to wean their minds from a proper obedience to his authority as veſted in his proteſtant deputy. Beſides, they had for ſome time paſt been accuſtomed to a kind of republican government of their own chuſing; and whatever reſpect

ſpect men may pay to the royal dignity, after having been once uſed to enjoy a greater latitude than is conſiſtent with the kingly rules, it is very hard to bring them again to ſubmit to order and good government. Such was the caſe; and if it beſides be conſidered how highly theſe people thought themſelves intereſted in inſiſting on what they deemed *good terms*, after having ſhed ſo much of their own and others blood to procure them, the reader will ſomewhat the more readily conceive how ſo many obſtacles came to be thrown in the way of a peace in Ireland, as well as in England, though in the eye of reaſon it muſt have appeared advantageous to both governments.—From the picture I have drawn of the times, (which indeed, though not exaggerated, is a moſt deplorable one) he will alſo conceive an idea of the diſmal gloom which overcaſt the minds of men, and occaſioned all the rage and horrors of the civil wars that deſolated theſe unhappy kingdoms, and left laſting marks of their devaſtation to ſucceeding ages.

The ceſſation in Ireland being thus concluded, though Ormond was well pleaſed with the ſatisfaction it yielded to his majeſty, he was yet full of anxieties as to the conſequences of it. And indeed it had not been long made before there were mutual complaints to be heard of the contracting parties relative to excurſions, extending of quarters, and the like; and, amongſt the reſt, the Engliſh complained that the Iriſh had prohibited their party from ſelling them proviſions, even for ready money, on which account they ſaid there was a conſpiracy to ſtarve them, as the ceſſation of arms hindered them from preying the country.

The earl of Caſtlehaven was accuſed of continuing the war, and taking ſeveral places after he knew of the ceſſation, and the catholic confe-

derates were cenſured for having ſuffered the pope's bull to be publiſhed after that agreement took place.

Thirty thouſand and eight hundred pounds had been promiſed as a ſubſidy, the Iriſh were charged with breach of contract in not having paid this ſum, according to ſtipulation: but, on the contrary, having ſeized on the caſtle and effects of ſome proteſtants, and, by tolls for paſſing through their quarters, and other ſuch exactions, extorting money from the Engliſh.

A. D. 1643. But notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the lieutenant general was buſied in ſending over his troops into England to his majeſty's aſſiſtance, and the temporary effect their arrival there had, was ſufficient to ſhew what might have been done had the Iriſh returned timely to their obedience, and like loyal ſubjects aſſiſted, or indeed only made a ſhew of aſſiſting their king.

For the Puritans, a ſet of men at that time to be worked upon only by their fears, began Carte. to remit much of their rigour and ſtomach for war at the news of the arrival of Ormond's little army from Ireland, concerning which however they cauſed it to be reported, That it was compoſed of a body of *bloody Iriſh rebels*, whom it behoved the good people of England to be upon their guard againſt. However, the treaty of Uxbridge was the conſequence, which probably would have ſucceeded better if a few thouſands more had been landed to Charles's aſſiſtance.

A. D. 1644. In the month of January, James marquis of Ormond was ſworn lord lieutenant at Chriſt's church in Dublin, who immediately ſet himſelf about reforming and reducing the army, ſo that he reſerved only one hundred and fifty horſe, and two thouſand foot. In the April following, at the ſeſſion of parliament holden at Dublin, the

ſpeaker

ſpeaker of both houſes iſſued orders to the officers of the army that none of them ſhould take the ſolemn league and covenant. In May, a proclamation was iſſued to free from cuſtom all goods and commodities imported for the relief of the army into Dublin from Drogheda, Carlingford, Cork, Dundalk, Youghal, or Kinſale, and ſeveral other meaſures were taken for the ſubſiſtance of the troops, and the eaſe of the proteſtant inhabitants of that kingdom.

After the ceſſation, the confederates ſent over the lord viſcount Muſkerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermod Mac Teig O'Brian, and others, as their agents to treat of a peace with the king of England; while the lords juſtices on their parts had deputed Sir William Steward, Sir Gerald Lowther, Sir Philip Percival, and Juſtice Donelan, to whom Sir George Ratcliff, and Sir William Sandbach (then at London) were added; but the proteſtants not ſatisfied with this, required of the lords juſtices to obtain a licence for veſting agents of their own to repair to his majeſty in England. To which the lords juſtices replied, that they would by no means hinder ſuch agents from going whither they pleaſed, but that they could not recommend them to the king till his majeſty's further pleaſure were known. So they thought proper to wait; but in the mean time they framed a petition to his majeſty, ſetting forth, "That the Iriſh rebellion was raiſed out of deteſtation to his bleſſed government, and for rooting out the proteſtant religion, and diſpoſſeſſing his majeſty of that kingdom, without the leaſt occaſion given by his majeſty or his proteſtant ſubjects." They alſo framed a proteſt, with regard to this petition (a copy of which having been preſented to the lords juſtices at that juncture,

ſeemed not to meet with their approbation)—The ſubſtance of the proteſt was as follows:

" SUFFERING, under the miſconſtruction of our petition, we hold it fit to declare that we exhibited not the ſame through want of aſſurance of his majeſty's care of the proteſtant religion, and of his ſubjects; nor yet to divert any ſupplies that may be drawn from hence againſt ſuch as in his majeſty's kingdom of England have taken up arms againſt him, but merely in right to God's cauſe, and in our right, humbly to inform his majeſty when the Iriſh agents ſhall repair unto him, if the ſaid agents ſhall endeavour to ſurpriſe or prejudice us in either. This is the commiſſion we give, and if any perſon or perſons employed by us ſhall go farther, or otherwiſe buſy themſelves to the diſturbance of his majeſty's ſervice, againſt ſuch we do, and ſhall proteſt, as being in our intentions no parties thereunto.—Which, as it may ſerve to vindicate our faith to his moſt ſacred majeſty, ſo it may ſhew how cauſeleſs the jealouſies are of this addreſs to him."——

This inſtrument which was intitled, *The ſenſe of divers of his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, who have ſigned to the late petition directed to his majeſty*, was well enough calculated to take off the odium which the royal party might otherwiſe have caſt upon the framers of ſuch a petition at ſuch a time. Nevertheleſs, it is plain by their manner of proceeding (diſtinct from that of government) as it was afterwards alſo, from the proceedings of their agents, that they were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt an accommodation with the Iriſh, that they would rather have hazarded their royal maſter's ſafety and their own, than have ſuffered it.

At length after ſome delays, having received the king's licence, the petitioner's agents, among whom

whom were Sir Charles Coot and captain Parſons, took ſhipping for England, on the ſecond day of April, came to Oxford on the ſeventh, and on the eighth kiſſed the king's hand; to whoſe preſence when they were admitted, his majeſty could not help obſerving that the Iriſh proteſted upon their ſalvation to him, That at firſt the conſpiracy was not general, but that thoſe of the Pale were forced into rebellion by the governors of Ireland.

But the agents left nothing unſaid or undone within the compaſs of their abilities to fruſtrate their reconciliation; though they were effectually puzzled by a queſtion which Charles put to them, which was, "In what condition the proteſtants of Ireland were, as to defence, if a peace ſhould not enſue?" To this they returned an evaſive anſwer, and though it was doubtleſs the main queſtion of all, deſired *time to conſider* of what they ſhould not have come over without being fully informed of.—Yet Sir William Saintleger being come to Oxford told the lord Digby, That the proteſtant forces that came from Munſter were much diſſatisfied that the proteſtant agents from Ireland received ſo little countenance; whereas, in effect they received every rational ſatisfaction that the king, circumſtanced as he was, could poſſibly afford them.

When they objected to the propoſitions of the Iriſh, being aſked, What the proteſtants would do, if the former ſhould break off the treaty, which it was expected they would do if their terms were not yielded to: they confidently replied,—"That the rebels might be brought to better terms, if they were holden to it; for that they were aſſured the lord Muſkerry had refuſed to come with limitted inſtructions, but would be at liberty to do as he ſhould ſee cauſe." Which aſſertion

aſſertion of theirs proved to be a lie; for the Iriſh agents of the confederacy before they withdrew declared themſelves unable to recede from the ſtipulations marked out to them; though they intimated to the king, "That they believed their principals, when truly informed of his majeſty's circumſtances would comply with them ſo far as to moderate their demands to what he might conveniently grant:" and promiſed, That they would ſolicit them for that purpoſe, in conſequence of which, a commiſſion under the great ſeal was ſent over to the lord lieutenant, impowering him to make peace with the king's catholic ſubjects, upon conditions agreeable to the public good and welfare, that might produce ſuch a peace and union in Ireland as might vindicate his royal authority there, and ſuppreſs thoſe in arms againſt him in England and Scotland. And at the ſame time he was ordered to continue the ceſſation of arms for twelve months longer.

Theſe being departed, the proteſtant agents waited on ſecretary Nicholas, and were by him introduced, for the laſt time, to his majeſty, who told them, "That he had written to the marquis of Ormond concerning the proteſtants of Ireland, and that he would uſe his beſt endeavours for them there, as he did for himſelf here. (adding) That he meant his good proteſtant ſubjects, but not covenanters or their adherents:" whereupon the agents withdrew themſelves, little ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their unſeaſonable embaſſy.

The lord lieutenant received the commiſſion above-mentioned on the twenty-ſixth day of July, but the confederates choſe an eccleſiaſtic to treat for them, Ormond would not admit of, and therefore this and other diſputes delayed matters till the ſixth of September, when the Iriſh having inſiſted on the repeal of part of the ſtatute of 2. Eliz. c. 1. and on other demands which

which Ormond conceived to be unreaſonable, he delayed the treaty, and wrote over to England to know his majeſty's farther pleaſure.

The king, in anſwer, gave him to underſtand, that he approved his anſwers to the confederates, and would willingly have him inſiſt on them; but if the Iriſh could not be brought to moderation, then rather to yield to terms than enter into a new war; but not to yield to the repeal of Poyning's act, unleſs there were an abſolute neceſſity.

But how deſirous ſoever the king might be for the peace with the Iriſh, yet there were many obſtacles in the way, which prevented its taking place till it was too late to ſerve him.—The catholics, on their part, ſtill inſiſted on things which people of any moderation ought to have relaxed in, whilſt Ormond, on the other hand, as rigidly refuſed to comply with any thing which he deemed derogatory to the dignity, religon, or his prince's rights. But this was not all; for there was likewiſe a party of meddling fanatics in Ireland, who were the ſcourge of government, and who were always inveighing againſt thoſe meaſures which alone could have preſerved to them their lives and properties, and theſe importuned the lord of Inchiquin (who was at that time returned in diſguſt from England, becauſe he could not obtain the preſidency of Munſter) to write to his majeſty, *modeſtly* deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to break his royal word given to the confederates, and again to proclaim them rebels, and exclude them from all hopes of pardon.

But as neither Inchiquin nor thoſe men really believed Charles would take ſuch a ſtep, it was reſolved to throw themſelves upon the parliament, who thereupon made this earl preſident of Munſter,

ſter, chiefly becauſe he had driven the Iriſh out of Cork, on account of a report which was circulated, that they had plotted with a certain friar to betray the city into the hands of the confederates.

The Engliſh account of this plot, as extracted from Sir Richard Gething's diſpatch to ſecretary Lane is as follows: He ſays, "That one colonel Croning ſent to major Muſchamp, to give him a meeting, which being done, he offered to open him a way for great preferment, which was no other than by delivering up the fort of Cork, as the lord lieutenant ſhould direct. Muſchamp replying, That he deſired no eaſier ſtep to preferment than the lord of Ormond's direction, Croning deſired him to meet a certain lord the next day, which he accordingly did, and being obliged to ſecrecy, that lord told him, That if he would ſurrender the fort of Cork into his hands he ſhould have the lord marquis of Ormond's warrant for it, and great promotion for his reward:—Muſchamp anſwered, That he was willing to obſerve the marquis's command, provided he ſaw an authentic warrant; whereupon the aforeſaid lord pulled out a warrant, written (as he ſaid) with the marquis's hand, importing, That whereas the marquis was diſabled from putting neceſſary proviſions of victuals and ammunition into the fort of Cork, for the preſent defence thereof, therefore he (Muſchamp) was required to deliver up the ſame into the hands of the aforeſaid lord,—aſſuring him, That whatever conditions that lord ſhould condeſcend unto, his excellency would confirm them. Muſchamp, though aſtoniſhed, promiſed to perform the contents if his lordſhip would give him the warrant, but he was told he muſt perform the work firſt, which when he demurred upon, his lordſhip

lordſhip ſaid, "That then he might write to his excellency for farther ſatisfaction."—And ſo they parted:—But Muſchamp diſcovered all to the lord of Inchiquin, as he was pre-engaged to do; who adviſed him to ſend to the lord he had converſed with, for a copy of the warrant in queſtion, when he did ſo twice, but could get no other anſwer than, "That it was ſent back to the marquis of Ormond."

All theſe circumſtances major Muſchamp declared upon oath before a council of war.

In conſequence, ſome of the conſpirators were executed, and, as it is ſaid, one of them confeſſed the deſign, and the lord Inchiquin made this plot an excuſe for his acting in the manner above related,

Yet whatever he might hope from his method of proceeding, it ſeemed to promiſe him but little advantage in his firſt ſetting out, for notwithſtanding the honour conferred on him by the parliament, they not being in a condition to furniſh him with proper ſupplies, he was himſelf obliged to agree to a temporary ceſſation of hoſtilities with the Iriſh, till the earl of Caſtlehaven renewed the war in the ſpring, and in the interim the fort of Duncannon, which had never ſubmitted to the ceſſation, was taken by general Preſton, Sir Arthur Loftus being prevented by a great ſtorm from throwing ſupplies into the place, even though he got into the harbour. Cox.

The noiſe which the conſpiracy to deliver up Cork had made all over the iſland, and the concern it every where gave the Engliſh, together with the pretence of a warrant from the lieutenant being offered for its ſurrender, gave the marquis of Ormond great anxiety, who conceiving his reputation particularly concerned in the affair, it is ſaid

it is ſaid he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lord, who had tampered with Muſchamp, to which his Lordſhip returned the following anſwer.

" May it pleaſe your Excellency,

" I have received your letter of the 25th of the laſt, wherein you are pleaſed to command me to deliver my knowledge in a report given out by one major Muſchamp, and wherein your excellency, as you are, pleaſed to take notice, find yourſelf highly concerned. My lord, before I ſhall proceed to deliver my knowledge on that buſineſs, in the firſt place, I ſhall crave your excellency's pardon, if for compaſſing my own ends it ſhall appear, that I have made uſe of your excellency's name without warrant, through which there may ariſe any blame or blemiſh to your lordſhip; this being granted me, all that I can remember is as followeth:

" It is very true (my lord,) Muſchamp employed one of his friends unto me, ſignifying his diſlike of my lord of Inchiquin, whom he found to be entirely in his actions and reſolutions for the parliament, and therefore thought fit to ſeek my advice to put him in a preſent way, whereby he might ſecure the fort for his majeſty's ſervice. Truly my lord, I was loth to loſe ſuch an opportunity to do my country ſervice, and immediately returned him anſwer to meet me the next day after at a caſtle of mine, which he performed that day or the next day after, (as near as I can remember,) and upon our meeting *he being ſworn to ſecrecy in all things*, I moved unto him concerning the fort, to which he ſeemed to incline, making great expreſſion and fervency in all reſpects to preſerve his loyalty, and to obſerve (upon the leaſt inclination or notice) any commands that ſhould come unto him from your excellency: then upon farther

farther diſcourſe, he fell to wiſh I had the fort in my poſſeſſion, ſo he were ſure that the party whereof I was, and myſelf, were for the king; to which I anſwered, that by the good countenance and uſage the reſt of the commiſſioners and myſelf had in England, and our coming without rub or interruption from thence, might in ſome ſort aſſure him thereof; which proving not altogether ſatisfactory unto him, he replied, That if he had ſeen any directions from your excellency for him to diſpoſe of the place, he would obey it to the loſs of his life, and deliver it either unto me, or any body elſe your lordſhip would appoint, which I apprehended a buſineſs much conducive to his majeſty's ſervice, and the preſervation of this province againſt the rebels in England into whoſe hands I was aſſured, the ſame ſhould be put *as now it is*; and preſuming that it would have not been prejudicial to his majeſty or your lordſhip, for me to uſe any ſleight or means to get it out of their hands, I preſumed to frame a warrant in your lordſhip's name, authoriſing him to ſurrender me that hold to his majeſty's uſe, and that your lordſhip had received ſufficient aſſurance from me, to re-deliver it upon demand, which I read unto him; he would have it into his own hands (as he alledged) for his juſtification; but I inſiſted, that I would not part with the inſtrument, until the work were accompliſhed according to the directions; whereupon he took time to prepare and conſider of the buſineſs, for two days, as near as I can remember, and then he was to ſend his farther reſolution unto me, or to appoint another meeting, and, ſince I have not heard any thing from him, but within ſix days after I could hear that he diſcovered it unto my lord of Inchiquin, and ſome others at a council of war.—My lord he thought to catch me, and I was hope-

ful

ful to catch him; and if in the progreſs or carriage of the matter, I have ſaid or done any thing that gives your lordſhip cauſe of offence, I crave your forgiveneſs and pardon. Your lordſhip may be the more indulgent unto me in this particular, for that upon my ſalvation, I had a full reſolution (if I had compaſſed the place upon theſe terms) to preſerve all the Engliſh without any prejudice either in their lives, religion, or goods, and to ſurrender it unto your lordſhip or ſuch as you would appoint, whenſoever your lordſhip would call for it. My lord, this is the truth of what paſſed between Muſchamp and me in that place; I have no more to add unto it, but that I deſire if in this I have forfeited any thing of your lordſhip's opinion, I may be reſtored and accounted by your excellency,

Your moſt humble ſervant.—

If we can depend for theſe things on the hiſtorian, as to the matter of fact the letter ſeems to be but a poor excuſe, ſince it is ſcarcely likely that one of the confederates ſhould be ſo careful for the king's intereſt, even before the peace was concluded, but it is rather a pity that we have not a more particular account of this affair reſpecting the other conſpirators, as well as this certain Lord who made himſelf ſo buſy in the affair, and did ſo little good to any party.

The Scots of Ulſter and all who had taken the covenant, were clamorous againſt the ceſſation, and Monroe complained to the parliament that the army who were to be paid every three months, were now eighteen months in arrear, "for which reaſon he ſaid, it was hard to put them off with a ceſſation, however he promiſed to avoid hoſtilities till the earl of Leven was conſulted,"—At which remonſtrance of his, the ſupreme council were ſo diſguſted that they wrote to the lords juſtices.

That

That they ſhould conſider them as enemies, and deſired their proceeding againſt them as ſuch might not be deemed a violation of the treaty.

In the beginning of the next year Monroe publicly declared that he had a commiſſion from the parliament to govern the province, and a council of war being ſummond to meet colonel Chicheſter at Belfaſt, he ſurpriſed that town becauſe the colonel had iſſued proclamation againſt the covenant, on the other hand, the Marquis of Antrim, ſent two thouſand five hundred Iriſh to Scotland, in order to keep their Northern neighbours employed at home, and to induce them to recal their forces from Ireland. A. D. 1644.

All this year was ſpent in various diſputes and debates concerning the terms of peace, which were received in ſixteen hundred and forty-five, though the parliament had declared at the treaty of Uxbridge, That the king had no power to make ſuch a ceſſation. — The confederates not ſatisfied with Ormond's conduct had now recourſe to the Queen, to whom they promiſed that if his Majeſty would condeſcend to grant their juſt demands, they would aſſiſt him with a body of ten thouſand men in his Scotch and Engliſh wars, whereupon ſhe ſent Sir Kenelm Digby to Rome, to negotiate with the Pope for a peace with the Iriſh.— The Earl of Glamorgan was alſo induced to offer the confederates ſuch terms as exceeded any they could hope for from the Lord Lieutenant, which occaſioned them to be very backward in treating with him, and to croſs him in almoſt every thing.

But king Charles at this time thought himſelf all the while ſo ſecure of aids from Ireland, that he even ſent Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with five hundred horſe to Carnarvon, in order to receive and conduct them on their way. But being diſ-

appointed in his hopes, the Lord Digby (ſecretary of ſtate) wrote to the lord of Muſkerry and the reſt of the Iriſh agents, to know the meaning of this unſeaſonable delay, and to remind them how much the intereſts and ſafety of their principals, were concerned in not ſuffering his loyal ſubjects of England to be cruſhed by the power of the parliament, who would certainly next turn their arms againſt them, which would prove their deſtruction; at the ſame time obſerving how unreaſonable it was in them, to ſtand upon ſuch high terms as muſt needs prove ruinous to his Majeſty, and concluded with aſſuring them, "That, were the king's affairs much worſe than they were he would never redeem them by ſuch conceſſions as muſt ruin both his honour and conſcience, and hazard that religion for which he was reſolved both to live and die."

——But this letter had little weight with the confederates, who, while they amuſed the Marquis of Ormond with public negotiations, had privately concluded a ſecret peace more to their mind with the Earl of Glamorgan, to the ſtipulations of which alone they owned themſelves bound to adhere, and not even to thoſe, if in future, by any turn of affairs, better terms might prove likely to be granted them.

The treaty, however, was at length concluded with Ormond, and in September the aſſembly voted, that ten thouſand men ſhould be ſent to aſſiſt the king, and that they would refer to his majeſty's pleaſure ſuch things about religion as Ormond either had not power or inclination to grant.—Yet theſe men were never ſent, and the Iriſh alledged as a reaſon, That they did not undertake the tranſportation of the ten thouſand men to help the king, but intended only their aſſiſtance therein.

On the twenty-ſecond day of October, in the ſame year, the pope's nuncio, John Baptiſta Rinuccini, archbiſhop and prince of Firmo, arrived in the river of Kilmair, and coming to Kilkenny was welcomed by the ſupreme council, and indeed by the catholics in general, who little thought that when they received him, they received their ruin: for this meddling prieſt was the chief cauſe of all the miſchiefs that followed, and by his unſeaſonable interference, proved the deſtruction of the royal party and their own, and brought on their final downfal.

The nuncio was no ſooner arrived in the iſland, than he ſet himſelf to work by all poſſible means to undermine the king's intereſt, and fearing the Iriſh ſhould cloſe with Ormond's propoſals, he declared if they did, he would take all the biſhops with him, and quit the kingdom, which if he had really put in execution, it would have been well for all parties; though it is likely he thought himſelf ſafeſt on ſhore, having narrowly eſcaped being taken by a parliament ſhip in his paſſage over to Ireland.

In the mean time the Engliſh were ignorant of Glamorgan's ſecret peace, till a copy of it was found among the papers of the titular archbiſhop of Tuam.

In Connaught this biſhop was commiſſioned by the confederates, and Sir Charles Coot was the parliament's preſident, but the king's was the lord Dillon of Coſtilo. Coot having joined with the Lagan forces, marched through Connaught burning and deſtroying the county, and having taken Sligo, Sir Robert Stewart, by means of the Scots, had the government of that place, which Colonel Audley Mervin who expected it, reſented ſo much that he came over to the lord

lieutenant, and promiſed in future to become a loyal ſubject to the king.—On the news of theſe ſucceſſes of Coot, the Iriſh ſent their army under the command of Lord Taaf, to the relief of Connaught, who took ſeveral caſtles and quickly recovered moſt part of the country. But the archbiſhop of Tuam having joined ſome forces, in order to attempt the re-taking of Sligo, the Iriſh were defeated before that place, and the archbiſhop being among the ſlain, the articles of Glamorgan's peace were found among his papers, whereby it firſt became public.

About this time ſome overtures of peace were made between Ormond and the parliament's commiſſioners of Ulſter, which came to nothing; but for which the marquis has been highly cenſured, and the matter muſt certainly be acknowledged to have been rather unſeaſonable; but the poſture of affairs and the eternal diſputes he was likely to have with the Iriſh, before he could come to any terms with them, may in ſome meaſure plead his excuſe.

And indeed the main buſineſs of all propoſitions which was that of the ſupplies of men, proceeded ſo ſlowly that a preſage might be drawn of its never coming to a concluſion.—When the ſoldiers were ready, there was no ſhipping to tranſport them, when there was a probability of effecting their tranſportation to England, then the ſoldiers were gone upon other ſervice, and thus the time was trifled away, while Charles's party at home melted from him, having in vain expected re-inforcement from his kingdom of Ireland.

A. D. 1646. Ormond receiving a letter from his maſter recommending to his eſpecial care the management of his affairs in Ireland, as he ſhould conceive moſt for his honour and ſervice, cauſed that letter

to

to be printed, in order to let the confederates ſee that they muſt depend on him alone for peace. Yet in the midſt of all this, the earl of Argyle and the Scotch commiſſioners of Ulſter being come over, they endeavoured to renew the treaty with him, and his liſtening to their terms has given occaſion to the Iriſh to charge him with a duplicity of conduct, which indeed, (as I ſaid before) nothing but his embarraſſed ſituation, and their own backwardneſs in concluding a peace, or granting the promiſed ſupplies could excuſe.

Wiſhing to make all poſſible advantage of the peace, the marquis deſigned a ſpeedy publication of the articles, whereupon the Iriſh gave him to underſtand, "That if he did ſo, they muſt be neceſſitated to publiſh the articles of Glamorgan's peace."—To which his excellency replied, "If they did ſo, he would in the name of the king publicly diſavow them there, as his majeſty had already done in England."

In the mean time the king had ſurrendered to the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Newark, Argyle was recalled from Ireland, and Owen Roe had given the Scots and Engliſh a terrible overthrow at Bemburb, who left above three thouſand men dead upon the field of battle; a victory which expoſed the whole province of Ulſter to the army of this general, had he not rather choſen to mind the affairs of the nuncio than his own, and by taking a journey into Leinſter loſt the fruits of this great victory.

Theſe events altered the face of affairs; for the Scots obliged the king to write to the lord lieutenants, prohibiting him from concluding the peace. Ormond and the council wrote back to England, that they would obey, but that conſidering the ſtrength of the rebels, and their own

embarraſſed circumſtances, they hoped to renew the ceſſation for a month.—The Scots of Ulſter at this time again renewing their earneſt ſolicitations, that he would join with them, notwithſtanding ſome diſreſpectful behaviour of theirs, he anſwered, "He would do it, if they would ſubmit to *his majeſty's authority.*" But as the nature of their commiſſion obliged them to refuſe ſo to do, the matter ended, and they were diſmiſſed without their errand.

But as his majeſty's unhappy circumſtances alone had cauſed him to write the letter of prohibition, mentioned above, the lord Digby arriving with his abſolute orders, That peace ſhould be concluded with the Iriſh, it was accordingly obeyed, after his lordſhip had made a ſolemn and formal proteſt of his verbal meſſage, which was entered in the council-book at Dublin.

All things being finiſhed, this peace was at length ſolemnly proclaimed at Dublin, and Owen Roe was ſent for thither to give his aſſiſtance towards ſettling the affairs of the nation; but that general anſwered, "That he would pay his duty to the lord lieutenant as ſoon as he had authentic notice of the peace from his former maſters."——And in the mean time the proteſtant clergy preſented a remonſtrance of thanks to his excellency for his care of the intereſt of their religion, and of the ſtate in general.

But the nuncio ſummoning the Iriſh clergy to Waterford, declared againſt this peace, and pronounced all perjured who ſubmitted to it; and even before this, when the herald came to that city it was not ſuffered to be proclaimed there, and they were told they muſt firſt publiſh it at Kilkenny, which they did, and found it there well received. Then they proceeded to proclaim it

at

at Calan, Fethard, and Caſhel, but were not permitted to do ſo at Clonmell, till Limerick ſhould firſt have received it, whither when they came, it being evening, they found the gates ſhut, and could not be admitted till noon.—— The mayor and aldermen of the city voted, "That it ſhould be proclaimed:" but one Walſh, a ſeditious friar oppoſed it by denouncing excommunication, and gathering together a wild rabble, who aſſaulted their own mayor and the heralds, and dragged them to priſon, where they remained for ten days, and afterwards thoſe who were concerned in this moſt ſcandalous breach of the law of nations, received the thanks of the nuncio for what they had done.—

And on the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt, the congregation, at Waterford to complete the miſchievous work which they had begun. publiſhed a declaration to be tranſmitted with the following propoſitions to the ſupreme council.

"I. That the earl of Glamorgan's articles grounded upon the king's authority, be printed, (and be made as firm and obliging as the preſent peace) That the confederates do oblige themſelves by union, oath, and otherwiſe to inſiſt upon the ſame articles, and them to maintain till confirmed (with the preſent peace) next parliament.—And whereas it appears by his majeſty's letters taken at Naſeby, that Ormond had power to repeal the penal laws, and ſuſpend Poyning's act, the confederates expect the benefits thereof to be added to the articles of the peace, and that thoſe letters be made public."

"II. That the generals of Ulſter and Leinſter be made general of the horſe, and major general of the field, and all other catholic officers continued, if not advanced."

" III. That no garriſon be added, nor tax impoſed upon them till parliament, without conſent of ſome or one of the commiſſioners of the interval to ſee equality."

" IV. That the ſeventh article of the peace be changed, as touching univerſities, and that the inſtitution and diſcipline of them be catholic."

" V. That in all places to be recovered from the parliament, Roman catholics be reſtored to eſtates, privileges, &c. and that the free exerciſe of their religion be ſecured to them, and all other catholics that ſhall pleaſe to dwell there."

" And if the ſupreme council do not approve of theſe propoſitions, then let them do one of theſe things, viz. retain their civil and military power within their own quarters independant, as heretofore, until his holineſs's and his majeſty's pleaſure be known, and, in the mean time, both parties purſue the common enemy; or elſe let them refer it to a general aſſembly, to be immediately called."

To which propoſitions the ſupreme council called on the eleventh of September, returned the following anſwer:

To the firſt, " That they will print and publiſh Glamorgan's articles, and inſiſt on them, as being obligatory to the king, and get them confirmed next parliament; and no interruption ſhall be given them in the mean time. That the repeal of the penal laws was purpoſely omitted in the peace, as being *leſs* than Glamorgan's conceſſions; and therefore might derogate from them; and the ſuſpenſion of Poyning's act was by unanimous conſent omitted for ſaving of time."

To the ſecond, " That they ſhall be ſufficiently provided for."

To the third, " No conſtant garriſons ſhall be put into corporations, &c. nor levies made, but for

for public ſervice, and proportionably to the reſt of the country, and ſome of the members of the corporation ſhall be privy thereunto."

To the fourth, " It is implied, elſe how can they be, for the uſe of the catholic youth, if the diſcipline be not catholic ?"

To the fifth, " It is done already, and if not, it ſhall be taken care of."

" And you ſhall have ſecurity to have the penal laws repealed the next parliament, and ſhall not be moleſted in your religion or eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions till then."

This anſwer ſo baffled the congregation, that all the reply they could make was, " That the lord lieutenant was gone out of their quarters ; and that the ſupreme council being part of the confederate body, could be no ſecurity to the reſt for what they promiſed ; and that the peace being once rejected, could not be reaſſumed or revived, but by a general aſſembly."

" And to manifeſt that they were in earneſt, (ſays Cox) they had prevailed with the biſhop of Oſſory long before this to publiſh a very extraordinary inſtrument in form following:

" WHEREAS, we have in our public and private meetings, at ſeveral times declared to the ſupreme councils and others, whom it may concern ; that it was, and is, unlawful, and againſt conſcience, the implying perjury (as it hath been defined by the ſpecial act of the convocation at Watreford) to both commonwealths, ſpiritual, and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation, or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and miſchievous peace, ſo dangerous (as it is now articled) to both commonwealths, ſpiritual and temporal.—And whereas, notwithſtanding our declaration, yea, the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom to the contrary,

contrary, the ſupreme council, and the commiſſioners have actually proceeded to the publication; yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free conſent or deſire of the people. We, having duly conſidered and taken it to heart, (as it becometh us) how erroneous this fact is and appears in catholics, even againſt God himſelf.—And what a public contempt of the holy church it appeareth; beſides the evil it is likely to draw upon this poor kingdom; after a mature deliberation, and conſent of our clergy, in deteſtation of this heinous and ſcandalous diſobedience of the ſupreme council, and others who have adhered to them in matters of conſcience to the holy church, and in hatred of ſo hurtful and abominable an act, We do by theſe preſents, according to the preſcription of the ſacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general ceſſation of divine offices throughout all the city and ſuburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monaſteries, and houſes in them whatſoever."

DAVID OSSORIENSIS.

In this manner was the peace rejected, and Preſton was recalled from Connaught by means of the nuncio while the lord lieutenant, who was going from Kilkenny to Carrick, had private intelligence that the Iriſh deſigned to intercept him on his return to Dublin, whereupon being denied entrance into the town of Caſhell, he marched to Calan, and from thence to Loghlin-bridge, before Owen Roe, who was at the diſtance of about ſix miles from Kilkenny, could come up with him; and at laſt got ſafe to Dublin, which conſidering the information he had received from the lord Dillon of Coſtilo, was more than he had reaſon to expect.

It is to be noted here, that the earl of Glamorgan had been ſummoned before the lord lieutenant

tenant and the council at Dublin, on the diſcovery of the ſeparate treaty which he had negociated with the confederates; and the lord Digby charging him with a ſuſpicion of high treaſon, a copy of the articles of that treaty was produced, and Glamorgan, committed to cloſe cuſtody, from whence, however, he was ſoon releaſed, the ſtate not chuſing to deprive his majeſty at that juncture of ſo able a miniſter, whatever errors he might have been guilty of in the above tranſaction. Nevertheleſs, the catholics, who had placed a great dependance on him and his treaty, ſtill relying on the terms he had offered, though they were publicly diſavowed by the king, and the lord lieutenant, were greatly irritated at this procedure, indeed they had chiefly on his account never heartily come into any terms which Ormond could propoſe, and this, together with the nuncio's arrival, was the occaſion of all thoſe delays which in the end proved ſo deſtructive to their prince, and to themſelves. Certain it is, that however this ſcheme of Glamorgan's was planned, it was a moſt impolitic one, becauſe the Engliſh on the one hand, and the Iriſh on the other equally accuſed the king and his miniſters of double-dealing, and as to the latter, it was certain, by the whole tenor of their conduct, that they would never accept of any terms that Ormond might propoſe to them if they could be aſſured of better by the earl of Glamorgan.

With regard to the ſhare which Charles had in theſe tranſactions of the earl, which he afterwards publicly diſowned, it ſhould ſeem, upon an impartial examination of all that has been written on that ſubject, that he was not intirely ignorant of the earl's tampering with the confederates, though at the ſame time he might be unacquainted

Carte. unacquainted with the lengths to which he went upon that occaſion. In effect, the king, ſituated as he was, and having every thing to fear from his Engliſh rebels, perceiving how ſlowly the treaty went on in Ireland, and finding the averſion the natives of that country had to his lieutenant, might probably have given private inſtructions to Glamorgan to palliate affairs, which gave occaſion to the earl, who was himſelf a catholic, to exceed his commiſſion, and to grant the confederates almoſt every thing they could aſk, at the ſame time flattering himſelf, that he was by ſuch means doing a ſignal piece of ſervice, both to his king and country.——

However that was, the Iriſh ſtill harped upon his conceſſions, and were reſolved even to reject a peace confirmed by themſelves, becauſe it was leſs favourable than the earl's. The nuncio ſpirited them up to perſiſt in theſe reſolutions, and finding the ſupreme council willing to act more moderately, cauſed all of them, except Plunket and Darcy to be impriſoned, and thus he new modelled the Iriſh republic much in the ſame manner as Cromwell afterwards did the Engliſh one, for he eſtabliſhed his own adherents in the room of the impriſoned members, and thus procured to himſelf the direction of the whole machine.

General Preſton, though deſcended from Engliſh blood, and ſo lately brought into terms of peace and accomodation, now renounced them all, and after ſome ſlight excuſes for not attending the lord lieutenant on his excellency's ſummons, in order to conſult upon theſe affairs, he at length entered into a league with Owen Roe, and in anſwer to the remonſtrance made to him on ſuch a conduct, he ſent the marquis of Ormond the following extraordinary letter:

" May

" May it pleaſe your excellency,

" IN anſwer to yours of the eighth of this inſtant, I return, That finding the peace that was concluded and publiſhed deſtructive to my religion, and liberty of the nation, to the maintenance of which, together with his majeſty's juſt prerogatives I had formerly ſworn and aſſociated myſelf, I called together my regiments, and iſſued new commiſſions for re-inforcing my army, my intentions being therein no other than complying with my former reſolution and engagement, which I deſire may be accorded with aſſurance, whereby we may be the better enabled to comply with his majeſty's neceſſities in ſerving him, which is the only ambition of,

My lord, your lordſhip's

Kilka, Moſt humble ſervant,

Nov. 10, 1649. T. PRESTON."

By this time the nuncio had got the command of an Iriſh army, which amounted to near eighteen thouſand men, and theſe were preparing to march towards Dublin, which they intended at once to ſtorm, of which colonel Fitz Williams gave Ormond notice, adviſing him to prevent that evil by yielding to Glamorgan's conceſſions, but the lord lieutenant, who was reſolved never to buy a peace at ſuch a price, in return ſent him this anſwer.

" SIR,

" IF I could have aſſured the clergy of my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, I had not retired hither. They are things I have nothing to do with, nor will have: if they be valid in themſelves, they need no corroboration; if invalid, I have no power to give them ſtrength.— I cannot believe general Preſton ſo regardleſs of his honour as to appear in a ſtate of hoſtility before Dublin, which were in the higheſt degree to violate

violate the loyalty he profeſſeth, the many aſſurances given me by himſelf, and in his behalf by others, and, above all, the honour of his profeſſion. But if all that can be called faith between king and ſubject, and between man and man ſhall be ſo infamouſly laid aſide, with all hope of reconciliation. Nature will teach us to make the beſt reſiſtance we can, and God, the ſure puniſher of treachery and diſloyalty, at laſt will bleſs our endeavours with ſucceſs, or our ſufferings with patience and honour.

Your ſervant,

ORMOND."

And afterwards finding how little truſt he could repoſe in the Iriſh, if in this diſtreſs he ſhould refuſe any thing they aſked, he reſolved, with the concurrence of the council to ſolicit the parliament of England for ſuccours, promiſing to ſurrender Dublin into the hands of whomſoever they ſhould appoint, if articles could be agreed upon between the parties; and moreover he ſent for aid to the Engliſh of Ulſter, who were in the ſame ſervice; but theſe requiring Tredagh to be put into their hands, and the marquis refuſing, little fruit was to be expected from that negotiation.

However, the Iriſh wiſhing to prevent any junction of this kind, Owen Roe ſent to invite Ormond to treat with the nuncio, which he abſolutely refuſed, and afterwards Preſton made ſome propoſals to the lord Digby, and received for anſwer by Sir Nicholas White, "That if Preſton would ſubmit to the peace, the lord lieutenant would break off the other treaty, but could not do it after the proviſions of the country were deſtroyed, becauſe then *he ſhould be tied by the teeth* to the parliament, on whom he muſt depend for *bread*." It was alſo added, "That he ſhould have reaſonable ſecurity for religion, but muſt decline

cline the extravagant expectations of the nuncio; that they ſhould have the penal laws repealed, and not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of the churches they then had, until his majeſty's pleaſure (out of reſtraint) were known. And for ſecurity thereof, they ſhould have the engagement of the queen, the prince of Wales, the crown of France, and the marquis of Clanrickard, and that Preſton ſhould have a conſiderable command, and ſo ſhould as many of Owen Roe's officers as would comply. But an anſwer was to be ſent before the lord lieutenant ſhould be neceſſitated to burn his own quarters."

But notwithſtanding this meſſage on the one ſide, and Preſton's offering to ſurrender up his command to the earl of Clanrickard, and to ſubmit to the peace, if the catholics might be ſecured in their religion, on the other, yet both parties were ſo jealous of each other that they did but trifle, and ſo the Iriſh army continued advancing, and waſting Ormond's quarters. However, at length, ſome propoſals were ſent, but the lord lieutenant and council thought them too exhorbitant to be complied with, as it was ſpecified in them, That Dublin, Tredagh (Drogheda) Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and all garriſons within the proteſtants quarters ſhould be garriſoned by confederate catholics.——However, the lord Clanrickard being ſent for, he, together with the lord Digby entered into a negotiation with the Iriſh, concerning which the latter writes thus:

"Yeſterday the lord Clanrickard, and I finiſhed our negotiations, to which Preſton and his army, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, and part of Owen Roe's army will ſubmit.—

"The moſt that will be expected from you, is a declaration, That whereas it is well known, even by his majeſty's printed letters, that his gracious intentions were to ſecure his catholic ſubjects of this

this kingdom in the free exerciſe of their religion by repeal of the penalties of the law againſt them, (which in the laſt articles was left out by the ſubtlety of ſome of their own party, who intended to found this miſchief upon it) that it was far from his majeſty's intentions or yours to take advantage of the omiſſion, but that they may reſt as ſecure of his majeſty's favour in the repeal of the ſaid penalties, as it had been poſitively expreſſed in the articles, and that for the matter of their churches and eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions it being referred to the king, it was far from your intention to moleſt them till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known in that particular. As for your engagement, to obey his majeſty's free commands, the queen, and prince of Wales, and my ſignifications to the advantage of the catholics during his majeſty's want of freedom, and that you will not obey ſuch commands to the prejudice of what is undertaken, as ſhall be procured by advantage of his majeſty's want of freedom, your letter to the marquis of Clanrickard will ſuffice, &c."

But while things were thus ſituate, the Engliſh parliament thinking the application made to them by the marquis, as an affair which ought by no means to be ſlighted, ſent over commiſſioners to treat concerning the ſurrender of Dublin, a matter which at this time not a little perplexed the propoſer, who had now two treaties upon his hands at once, and thoſe of ſo oppoſite a nature, that it required his utmoſt addreſs to extricate himſelf from the delimma occaſioned by ſuch circumſtances.

On the arrival of theſe commiſſioners, they ſent to Ormond, to give him to underſtand, "That the parliament would take proteſtants of Ireland into their protection, and if he would ſurrender up the ſword and garriſon in four days, then

Ormond

Ormond ſhould enjoy his eſtate, and ſhould alſo have indemnity from debts contracted on the public account, and ſhould be protected againſt all debts for a twelvemonth. That he and his followers ſhould have paſsports to go where they pleaſed, that Ormond ſhould have two thouſand pounds *per annum*, for five years, and longer, if he could not receive ſo much out of his own eſtate; and that Ormond might live in England, if he would ſubmit to all ordinances of parliament; and that for a twelvemonth he might live in England, and ſhould not be preſſed to any oath, he engaging his honour not to do any thing differviceable to the parliament during that time.

But after theſe commiſſioners had produced their inſtructions, and propoſed certain articles to Ormond, the latter not thinking theſe ſufficiently advantageous to himſelf, and the perſons under his command; and not having the king's poſitive order for the ſurrender, they could come to no concluſion. However, that the kingdom might not ſuffer by any delay theſe diſputes might occaſion, the lord lieutenant made the following propoſitions:

1. That the officers and ſoldiers might be landed, and put in one or more garriſons, and to receive orders from his excellency, and the governor of the place, and ſubmit to the martial law.——

That three thouſand pounds in money and victuals ſhould be lent his excellency to ſupport the army.

That the commiſſioners ſhould engage their ſoldiers ſhould remove at the end of ſix weeks, unleſs an agreement was made in the mean time, and, till then, ſhould do no prejudice to the government.

" And that his lordſhip would engage for their having free egreſs at the expiration of the ſtipulated time.

But the commiſſioners, inſtead of agreeing to theſe propoſals,, broke off the treaty, and went to Ulſter with their ſupplies of men and money.

When this negotiation was ended, that with Preſton was again renewed, and came to a reconciliation by the mediation of Clanrickard, and the latter was appointed lieutenant-general, and received as ſuch by Preſton's forces.---However, the peace was not yet received by Owen Roe, who, returning into Queen's County, ravaged all the country; and while Preſton remained in his camp, he and his officers ſigned an agreement to obſerve the peace, and then being made major-general, he invited the lord lieutenant to march with him to reduce Kilkenny and Waterford to conformity, to which Ormond conſented; but being detained from complying at the time appointed by ſickneſs, when at laſt he was preparing to meet the general, he found he had decamped from Naas, and afterwards, when he would have ſeen him at Caſtle Dermod, the council and congregation at Kilkenny, having declared againſt this reconciliation, Preſton would not come thither, alledging that his officers were not excommunication-proof. But on the nineteenth day of December he publiſhed a declaration, wherein the reaſons he urged for his defection were, That the marquis of Clanrickard had not given ſecurity for the free exerciſe of religion; that an Iriſh garriſon was not admitted into Dublin, &c. and that he thought himſelf bound, by the oath of aſſociation, to obey the council, congregation, and general aſſembly, who had iſſued, by this time a kind

of

of declaration of war, commanding all good catholics to kill and damage the Engliſh as much as lay in their power.

This was the bleſſed work of the nuncio, who was ever moſt induſtrious in widening the breach between the Engliſh and Iriſh. --- And matters ſtanding thus, the marquis, inſtead of repairing to Dublin, marched his little party into Weſtmeath, from whence he wrote to the Lord Digby, expreſſing his deſire that the king would allow the catholics the quiet exerciſe of their religion, but declaring that if any thing more were ordered, he would reſort to the liberty of a ſubject, to obey by ſuffering rather than he would be made the inſtrument of granting it.

At length, however, Ormond was perſuaded by the lord Mulkering and others, who diſapproved of this breach of the peace, to conclude a ſhort reconciliation, and wait the calling of a new general aſſembly, which meeting in the January following, he ſent letters of remonſtrance; but inſtead of attending to theſe, they declared the peace utterly null and void, and juſtified the nuncio and the clergy in breaking it, though they declared the commiſſioners had acted well in concluding it. In effect, all things were confuſedly carried on in this aſſembly, where Preſton was impeached by the biſhop of Fernes, on account of being rather more moderate, and ſaying ſomething in ſupport of what he had done. --However, his friends being numerous, obliged the eccleſiaſtic to withdraw that impeachment, or elſe they would have gone to blows, even in the aſſembly.

Yet in February they again ſent propoſals to the lord lieutenant, but demanding that Dublin and other fortified cities ſhould receive their ſoldiers in garriſon with other matters repugnant

to Ormond's principles, theſe were rejected.-- And as by this time the king had actually ordered Ormond, if he could not keep Dublin, rather to ſurrender to the parliament than to the Iriſh, the council reſolved, That the lord lieutenant ſhould renew his treaty with the parliament; whereupon he wrote to two of their commiſſioners for this purpoſe, declaring, " That he was now ſatisfied in that point, which before he ſcrupled, viz. The king's orders. On which the parliament ordered,, That if Ormond would give one of his ſons as hoſtage for performance, together with the earl of Roſcommon, colonel Chicheſter, and Sir James Ware, then Coote's regiment of horſe, and Monroe's and Fenwick's regiments of foot; at that time in Ulſter, ſhould move to his aſſiſtance, and the lord of Inchiquin and Ardes ſhould make a diverſion. And accordingly, the lord Richard Butler, being ſent to Cheſter, the three regiments were received into Ormond's garriſon, and the lord of Inchiquin ſent him twenty barrels of powder and half a ton of matches; and in the middle of March the earl of Roſcommon, colonel Chicheſter, and Sir James Warren were ſent to the committee at Derby-houſe, to be hoſtages for performance of the agreement with the parliament.

Upon the ſame day that this was done, the Iriſh parliament ſhewed their approbation for this ſtep of Ormond's in a remonſtrance, wherein they ſaid, that " They, the lords and commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, did acknowledge his lordſhip's ſingular goodneſs to THEM the proteſtant party, and to ſuch as adhered to them, who had been preſerved even to that day, under God, by his excellency's provident and pious care; which preſervation had not been effected without vaſt expence of his own eſtate; and that when

when he found the remaining ſtrength not ſufficient to cope with the bloody and perfidious enemy, rather than they ſhould periſh, he had in his care, transferred to thoſe that were both *able* and *willing* to preſerve them, and that not barely by a caſting them off, but by complying ſo far with them, that he had not denied their deſires of hoſtages, and among them one of his moſt dear ſons, &c. &c.—

But while the Iriſh parliament were giving theſe tokens of applauſe to Ormond, the confederates were every where complaîning of him both at home and abroad, and addreſſing the king and queen with a liſt of grievances, as will appear by the following papers, the firſt being an extract of a letter to her majeſty, ſent by the biſhops of Dublin, Caſhel, and Elphin, in the name of the congregation; the ſecond, part of a letter to the marquis of Clanrickard, dated at Paris; and the laſt, an account of the embaſſy of Mr. Geoffrey Baron to France.

—* That Glamorgan was, for this only reaſon, impriſoned. That being a catholic, he was carrying to the king ſuch catholic ſuccours as might deſerve his majeſty's favour to himſelf, and the catholics of Ireland.

* Quod Glamorgæus eo ſolo capite detrudi in carcerem quod catholicus, ad Regem ſibi & catholicorum ſubſidia, quibus & ſibi & catholicis Hibernio regios favores prometur.

Ut ſpurgata ab hoſte communi per catholicos Hiberni, quod ſatis facile, ni fallimur, poterat hoc Autumno fieri, unanimos ire ad noſtri regis ſubſidiem.

Fax ideo nobis diſplicet quia omnia referuntur ad arbitrium ſuæ majeſtatis (i. e. regis) quod ſubiremus libentiſſime ſi ab hoſtibus noſtræ religionis undequaq. cincta, & a majeſtate veſtra tam procul non eſſet.

Interim ſubjici exercitus, arma, caſtra, omnium confederatorum juriſdictionem, ipſum conſilium ſupremum ſoli authoritati & dominio marchionis Ormoniæ proregis proteſtantis.

Non modica nobis reſtat ſpes & fiducia in majeſtatis veſtræ benigna & efficaſſima interceſſione apud ſummum pontificem, ut, præſcripto proteſtantibus limite, intra quem eorum arma & imperium contineantur, ne religionem catholicam, eccleſias, eccleſiaſticaſq; perſonas ac res turbare liceat.

That the kingdom being cleared of the common enemy by the catholics of Ireland, which we ſuppoſed might eaſily be done this ſummer, we may all unanimouſly go to aſſiſt our king.

That we diſlike the late peace, becauſe all things are referred to the pleaſure of the king, which we would readily ſubmit to, if he were not invironed on all ſides with the enemies of our religion, and ſo far off from your majeſty.

And, in the mean time, the armies, garriſons, and juriſdiction of the confederates, even the ſupreme council itſelf, are ſubjected to the ſole authority and dominion of the marquis of Ormond, a proteſtant viceroy.

But we have no ſmall hopes of confidence in your majeſty's gracious and effectual interceſſion with the pope, that bounds being ſet to the proteſtants, within which their armies and government may be confined, they may not diſturb the catholic religion, the church, nor eccleſiaſtical perſons or things."—

THE new agent of the ſupreme council, colonel Fitz Williams, is very violent in his office. It is believed that Hartegan hath inchanted or infected the employment; inſomuch, that all his ſucceſſors prove like to him. He, the colonel, is very liberal in the diſpoſing of places and offices in the kingdom.—He told the counteſs of Arundel, That he could make the earl her huſband, if he pleaſed, lord lieutenant; and it is imagined, he ſays the ſame thing of the marquis of Worceſter to his friends,—that is, that he ſhall be lord lieutenant; and this was juſt Hartegan's way of proceeding. Shall we never have a diſcreet perſon come from thoſe parts,—who may impartially do our affairs here? Such a party would advantage and honour your country,

Colonel

Colonel Fitz Williams hath ſaid in great heat, "That Dublin ſhould be taken as ſoon as Mr. Baron returned, and that the confederates are ſo puiſſant, that he wiſheth with all his heart that there were in Ireland forty thouſand Engliſh and Scots, that they might have the honour to beat them.

And another ſaid, The confederates had taken Dublin, if it were not for their reſpect to the queen.——Her majeſty declares that though ſhe had ſent Mr. Winter Grant, yet it is only with reference to the marquiſſes of Ormond and Clanrickard, to be conſulted with; and without their advice and conſent he is not to engage her majeſty's authority in any one thing.

Colonel Fitz Williams endeavoureth now, by his friends, to get a good opinion in this court from our queen, and he claſheth with Dr. Tirrel, and pretendeth at court that he ſuffers for adhering to my lord of Ormond, and our king's party;—however, at his arrival here, Hartegan was not more violent than he was againſt my lord of Ormond, and that party.

—MR. Geoffrey Baron landed at Waterford on Friday the eleventh of March, and came the next day to Kilkenny, and being indiſpoſed two or three days, he came not into the aſſembly till the ſixteenth, at which time, being aſked for an account of his negociation, he anſwered,—That for the moſt part it conſiſted in the letters he had brought with him, and made ſome ſcruple to communicate them to any other than a ſworn council, becauſe the matter required ſecrecy. At length a committee was appointed to peruſe the letters; and Sir Lucas Dillon, the chairman, reported from that committee, that it was requiſite the letters ſhould be read in the aſſembly, which was done accordingly.

The firſt was a letter of the thirtieth of January from Dr. Tirrell, (one of the Iriſh agents) importing, that the rupture of the late peace did at firſt ſeem to both the courts in France to trench for upon the public faith of the kingdom; but when ſome ſlight objections were ſolidly refuted, and full information given, then the rejection of the peace was confirmed by the king and queen of France, and by cardinal Mazarine; but when they heard of the return of the Iriſh forces from Dublin, they ſuſpected their weakneſs and diviſions, wherefore he adviſes them to unite their forces, and attack that city again, and make themſelves maſters of the kingdom; and thereby they would regain the goodwill of the king and queen of France; and that the queen and prince of Wales are coming to Ireland; and adviſes not to agree upon ſlight terms, for when they come, the Iriſh will have their wills.

The ſecond was, a letter from the king of France of the twenty-ſixth of September to this effect, That being well informed of the inclinations the kingdom hath to him, he will take a particular care of their intereſts, &c.

The third and fourth were from cardinal Mazarine, containing general promiſſes; and that the ſettlement of his majeſty of England would rejoice the king of France.

The fifth was from Colonel Fitz-Williams, aſſuring them, That if they would provide a good reception from the Queen and Prince in Ireland, moſt of their demands would be granted. That the Queen denies, to have any power to treat with the Iriſh; but that ſhe will ſend for it. That the French will ſend ſhips for two thouſand Iriſh.—That if they aid Antrim in Scotland, the Scots muſt look to their own country; and without them the parliamentarians can do the Iriſh no hurt.

hurt. That the Preſbyterians and Independents will certainly fall out, that the Iriſh ſhould not decline any of their propoſals for peace; for he is ſure they ſhall have all.

Only he ſupplicates them to leave one church open in Dublin for the king's religion, leſt the parliament take advantage to incenſe the Engliſh againſt the king, queen and prince, if they ſhould ſhut all our doors againſt them."

Theſe letters being read, Mr. Baron, ſaid his embaſſy was on two points: firſt, to excuſe the not ſending three thouſand men to the king of France according to promiſe, and the ſecond was to ſollicit aids from the queen, which at firſt ſhe promiſed ſufficient to bring the war to the wiſhed period; but at the ſecond audience ſhe was quite off from it, being ſo perſuaded by her proteſtant councellors. And that Cardinal Mazarine ſent them twelve thouſand livres, which was all he could procure.—

In the beginning of the year ~~ſeventeen~~ 16 hundred and forty-ſeven arrived colonel Caſtle's regiment, ſent by the parliament in aid of Ormond, which was followed by the regiments of the colonels Hungerford and Long, and afterwards by the commiſſioners with above two thouſand men, whereof five hundred were horſe;——on the eighteenth day of June the treaty was concluded, when his lordſhip delivered up Dublin, Tredagh, and his other garriſons to the commiſſioners, And on the twenty-fifth of July he delivered up the regalia, and embarked for England according to agreement.

So great was the blindneſs of the confederates to their own intereſt, as well as that of the prince whom they profeſſed to ſerve, that they had ſcarcely taken one ſtep to prevent this ſurrender of Ormond's, though they loaded him with

with reproaches for having made it: On the contrary, they ſlighted an opportunity which was yet given them of making peace with the king, even when the ſupplies of the parliament were not all arrived, and the reception of the reſt might have been prevented. Mr. Winter Grant was ſent over juſt at this juncture from the queen with inſtructions, which were to be varied, uſed, or rejected, juſt as the circumſtances might incline the lord lieutenant to determine, and to deliver or ſuppreſs the letters which he had to the nuncio and the confederates, entirely according to his pleaſure, bringing with him alſo ſeveral blanks for the lord lieutenant to fill up at diſcretion. And this agent went to the confederates with aſſurances, on the fifteenth day of April, that if they would agree to a ceſſation, Ormond would not receive any more of the parliament's troops in three weeks from the eighteenth day of that month. But this propoſal they rejected, and demanded the ſame high terms which they had before ſtood upon, ſaying, That they muſt inſiſt on the propoſitions of the congregation of Waterford, which they knew Ormond had already refuſed, and was likely, from the tenor of his whole conduct, ſtill to do ſo, as indeed it fell out, by which means they lent a helping hand to their own ruin.

In the mean time the new poſſeſſors of Dublin made colonel Michael Jones governor of that city, and made two proclamations, one againſt the uſe of the common-prayer, and the other againſt the army's living on free quarters; the firſt of theſe occaſioned a declaration from the epiſcopal clergy, and the laſt raiſed a mutiny among the ſoldiers.

Jones marching with a party out of Dublin, was met by general Preſton within twelve miles

of

of the city, and driven back again with great ſlaughter; and the conſequence of the victory was, that the latter got poſſeſſion of moſt of the out garriſons to about eight miles from thence, and afterwards he beſieged Trim; to divert him from which Jones again iſſued forth, burned Caſtle Martin, and took ſpoil from Caſtlehaven, but was ſo reſolutely attacked in the rear by the Iriſh near Johnſtown, that he ſuſtained great loſs, and with much difficulty made a retreat before the conquering enemy.

Notwithſtanding theſe checks he reſolved, in the beginning of Auguſt, to march with three thouſand four hundred foot, and ſome regiments of horſe, to the relief of Trim, of which Preſton receiving intelligence, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and endeavoured, by a manœuvre he had projected, to get between the Engliſh army and Dublin, which place he doubted not but he ſhould ſurpriſe, while the troops were vainly haſtening to the relief of the other. Indeed how much ſoever ſome ſpeak in praiſe of Jones's generalſhip, he committed a great error here, in leaving the capital thus expoſed, while he proceeded as it were to brave the enemy. The true ſource of this conduct of his ſeems to have been the anger and ſhame with which he levelled at the diſgrace he had ſuſtained, that impelled him to ſuch an attempt as ſucceeded infinitely better than the raſhneſs of it deſerved;—for, being time enough apprized of Preſton's intention, he followed him as quickly as poſſible, as being the only method to prevent his deſign, which, had it taken place, muſt have been accounted a great piece of generalſhip. However, as Jones had received ſtrong reinforcements, overtaking his adverſary at Dungan-hill, he offered him battle, which the other did not decline, and after a ſmart engagement, victory

tory declared for the parliamentarians, and the confederates were obliged to retire with the loſs of a great part of their army, in killed, wounded, and priſoners.

One would ſcarcely think it credible that any of the Iriſh catholics ſhould rejoice at the news of this defeat, yet hiſtorians tell us it gave the nuncio and his party great pleaſure.——This troubleſome eccleſiaſtic, who was the bane of the country, had renewed the diſtinction between *old* and *new* Iriſh, encouraging the former to thwart the latter in every thing, and, in conſequence, Owen Roe O'Neal, of whom we have ſpoken ſo often, was his favourite general: Owen Roe was certainly a great commander; but he was ſo much bigotted to the church, that, merely for the ſake of obliging the clergy, he would at the ſame time refuſe peace, and forego the advantages that he had gained in war. He was among thoſe that congratulated themſelves on the defeat of a general who was deſcended from Engliſh blood, had an army chiefly compoſed of thoſe of the Pale, and by the bigotted nuntiotiſts was thought but lukewarm in the great concern of religion.

This Owen Roe now becoming general of the three provinces, marched into Leinſter; and Jones being re inforced by Monk, went out of Dublin to meet him; but the Iriſhman was too much of an experienced general to hazard a battle after a recent defeat, on the contrary, he contented himſelf with only harraſſing his enemies, wherever he had a manifeſt advantage, and ſo hovered round them without ſuffering himſelf to be drawn on to an engagement. And ſoon after, while Jones was gone on an expedition into the county of Wickland, he ravaged and burned the country almoſt to the gates of Dublin.

In

In the ſummer of this year, Inchiquin had taken Dramnanna, Capoquin, and Dungarvan, and proceeded ſucceſsfully till his proviſions failed him.—Having got recruits, he again went out in the beginning of Auguſt, and took Cahir by ſurrender, and the rock of Caſhell by ſtorm, where he put many Iriſh to the ſword, among whom were about twenty prieſts and friars, but was on the ſame account as before again obliged to return quarters.—In the month of September, after receiving a great reinforcement, he marched at the head of above five thouſand men to meet lord Taaf, whom he encountered and defeated, and received a letter of thanks from the parliament, together with a preſent of a thouſand pounds.

The confederates much alarmed at the ill ſucceſs of their arms, and the diviſions which perplexed their government began to be more willing to treat of peace;—but their delay of ſuccours having ruined the king's affairs, and his majeſty being now a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, and his lieutenant departed, they ſcarcely knew where to apply themſelves; at length, however, the ſupreme council reſolved to propoſe condition to the queen and prince of Wales, then in France, deſiring them, amongſt other things, To ſend over a catholic lord lieutenant;—but if they declined the treaty then it was determined to ſolicit aid from foreign princes, and they declared alſo that they would ſend an account of the deplorable ſituation of the nation to his holineſs the pope, on whom they placed likewiſe ſome dependance, as his nuncio was at that time in a manner at the head of affairs among them.

The marquis of Antrim, the viſcount Muſkerry, and Geoffrey Baron were ſent to France, while the biſhop of Fernes, and Nicholas Plunkett were ordered to Rome, and afterwards ambaſſadors

ſadors to France, in conſequence of theſe reſolutions.

The earl of Inchiquin, though victorious, became at this time much inclined to treat with the Iriſh. He grew jealous of the parliament, as he ſaw independancy prevailing, which was likely to level all the nobility of the three kingdoms, and to plunge the ſtate into the very depth of anarchy and confuſion;---and this inclination of his being improved by ſome of the king's friends, and urged by his neceſſity of ſupplies, he firſt ſent a ſpirited remonſtrance to the parliament, and afterwards gave evident tokens of his deſign to quit their ſervice, by impriſoning ſeveral of the officers who were the greateſt favourers of their cauſe, and preparing himſelf at all points to declare for his majeſty, as ſoon as he could find a proper opportunity. And beſides, finding his deſign approved by the covenanters of Scotland, who had by this time ſeparated themſelves from the intereſt of the independents, and begun to ſecertly wiſh for a reconciliation with their ſovereign, he ſet himſelf about his work cheerfully, by concluding a ceſſation of arms with the Iriſh, in return for which he was voted a rebel and a traitor by the parliament, who were, however, as he judged too much taken up with their own diſputes at home, to give him at this time any kind of moleſtation. Yet this ceſſation was oppoſed by the nuncio as far as he was able (as indeed was every thing that tended to the good of the Iriſh) but when coming to Kilkenny, he found he could not perſuade the ſupreme council into his opinion, he privately left that town, and fled to the camp of Owen Roe: after which he iſſued an excommunication (according to his uſual cuſtom) againſt all that were concerned in, or that accepted of this

this ceſſation, from which the Iriſh appealed to his holineſs, and likewiſe propoſed ſome queries concerning it to the biſhop of Oſſory, which were ſatisfactorily anſwered.

The nuncio had almoſt immediately after this moſt ſtrange ſtep ſent notice that he deſigned to hold a national ſynod at Athlone, on which, to his great vexation and ſurpriſe, the ſupreme council ſent the marquis of Clanrickard and general Preſton to beſiege that town, who took it before Owen Roe could come up.

But the indefatigable nuncio, not thus to be baffled with impunity, after the taking of Athlone advanced to Gallaway, where, as he underſtood the town had ſubmitted to the ceſſation, he cauſed the enſigns of authority to be taken from the mayor, but this creating a vaſt tumult, they were obliged to be reſtored, and his reverence having commanded the church doors to be ſhut, the archbiſhop or Tuam cauſed them to be broken open by force, and ſome lives were loſt in the ſtruggle.

The friars were every where injoined to preach inevitable damnation to thoſe who had agreed to the truce, and the nuncio hearing that ſome of the more moderate, even of his own party, heſitated about coming to blows and bloodſhed with people of their own country and religion, (and perhaps even their relations) on ſuch an account as this, he publiſhed a formal inſtrument, beginning, *In the name of God: Amen*; wherein he exhorted them in a moſt Chriſtian-like manner, neither to mind the loſs of their own goods, the plundering thoſe of others, nor even "*the ſlaughter of* SOME *or perhaps of* MANY, in ſo good a cauſe.— Such violent proceedings muſt neceſſarily have rendered him odious to all the ſenſible and thinking

ing

ing part of the nation; yet Owen Roe and his party were ſo ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, and ſo firmly reſolved to ruin even this new ſupreme council for treading in the ſteps of the old one, that the above-mentioned general even made a truce with Jones, in order to effect it; and Cox mentions an intercepted letter of his to the proteſtant biſhop of Clogher in the following words:

"To the right reverend the biſhop of Clogher,
"Make haſte to Ballyſannan, and thence to Catherlogh, and I will endeavour to defend you. Coſtollogh is joined with Preſton, and ſo is a part of Inchiquin's army, all which I will ſo keep employed, that they ſhall not be able to hurt you."

OWEN O'NEAL."

And thus were the Iriſh deprived of the ſervice of the beſt general they had, by the intrigues of the pope's miniſter, who never ceaſed meddling in their affairs till he had effectually ruined them.

In the mean time, ſome of Inchiquin's officers, (whether by his order is uncertain) made offers to return to the parliament, if they would pardon their revolt, and alſo pay their arrears, on which account colonel Edmund Temple was ſent over to treat with the earl; but the prince's ſecretary, being beforehand with him, entirely fixed Inchiquin in his majeſty's ſervice, inſomuch that the officers who projected to return to the parliament, were impriſoned, and all negociations with them broken off.

While theſe things were paſſing in Ireland, the marquis of Ormond then in England had, by the king's deſire, met the Scottiſh commiſſioners near Marlow, and had agreed with them that they ſhould make head in Scotland, while he would find

find the means of ſerving his majeſty in Ireland. The marquis therefore being ſtill as much in favour with his royal maſter as before the ſurrender of Dublin, was now ſent over to Ireland in the capacity of lord lieutenant, in order to endeavour to ſettle the affairs of that kingdom, which he underſtood were in a miſerable condition.

Though the Iriſh had requeſted a catholic lord lieutenant might be ſent them, yet the king had ſo many reaſons for reſtoring his favourite, as in his private opinion outweighed every thing they could urge to the contrary. And ſo at the latter end of September, James, marquis of Ormond again landed in Ireland, and was received with marks of reſpect by Inchiquin and his party, and ſoon after his arrival, he wrote to them that his majeſty had ſent him in compliance with their requeſt, and deſired that they would ſend commiſſioners to Carrick, to treat of a peace; which they accordingly did, and now ſeemed as if they were really in earneſt in the deſign of bringing the matter to a ſpeedy concluſion.

On the firſt notice of Ormond's intention of returning to Ireland, the parliament's commiſſioners were beyond meaſure alarmed, and took occaſion to ſeize upon ſeveral perſons *that were ſuſpected of loyalty*, whom they firſt confined in Ireland, and then ſent over priſoners to England.

In the mean time, general Preſton and Owen Roe were both in action, the one on the part of the ſupreme council, the other on that of the nuncio. The latter being baffled, and finding his forces much weakened, failing in his attempts to relieve his friends, took Carrickdrumruſk, but not without great loſs, and put all the garriſon (though they were Catholics) to the ſword. After this, finding the ſupreme council's party

every where too ſtrong for him, he is ſaid to have offered a ceſſation to colonel Jones, and even to have engaged to carry his army over to Spain, if it ſhould prove agreeable to that officer.—— And though ſome highlanders belonging to the marquis of Antrim, together with the Birnes and Cavanaghs joined the nunciotiſts, yet they were at length ſuppreſſed by the ſupreme council, who were now ſucceſsful in moſt of their undertakings.——

As for Jones, he made himſelf maſter of Ballyſhannon, and other places, while colonel Monk ſurprized Monroe in Carrickfergus, and ſent him priſoner to London; afterwards Belfaſt and Coleraine fell into his hands, for which ſervices he was made governor of Carrickfergus, and beſides received a gratuity of five hundred pounds from the Engliſh parliament, who were now in open hoſtility with the Scots their former allies.

The ambaſſador to the pope returned with little ſucceſs.—His holineſs ſaid, As to religion, it was not proper for him to preſcribe terms ſuch as heretics would grant, and that he would grant money on the ſcore of religion, but none on the event of war; and when he heard how the Iriſh catholics were ſplit into parties, he added, That whatever ſubſidy he might be diſpoſed to grant, he knew not to which of them he ought to ſend it.—[So certain was his infallibility!] Indeed one would have thought the Iriſh might have perceived what little good would accrue to them from treaties with catholic powers abroad, and on the contrary, how morally certain they might have been of ſucceſs if they would have been united among themſelves at home under their lawful head, the governor appointed by his majeſty, to whoſe royal perſon they had always profeſſed ſo much zeal and attachment. But they

were

were led by fatal deluſion into a phrenſy which nothing leſs than the loſs of their beſt blood could cure.—As to the pope, they had the leaſt to thank him for of any body. He had firſt led them into theſe fatal errors, by ſending over an ambaſſador who had brought diſtreſs and miſery upon them by inſiſting on their rejecting a ſafe and honourable accommodation with their ſovereign, and who was indeed every way unfit for his office:—laviſh of his excommunications, he uſed to thunder them out on every trivial occaſion even on ſuch as concerned only his own private property. Swayed by a furious unchriſtian ſpirit, and a bigot zeal; puffed up with pride, and abounding in malice, he was determined to govern nations, and command armies, and yet was for ever meeting with rebuke and diſgrace in his exalted undertakings. Nothing leſs than an Ægyptian darkneſs muſt certainly have reigned in the minds of thoſe people who could ſubmit to the mandates of ſuch a man, or conceive any ſanctity either in his perſon or authority.—As to his private character, it was evidently a bad one; and as to his public truſt, he had ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed it, as to make it at once both tyrannous and ridiculous; and even the pope himſelf entertained a bad opinion of him, as appeared in the ſequel, when he was properly informed of his proceedings.—Yet to this man did a great part of the Iriſh nation ſacrifice their peace and honour, and add to the wide wounds already given to their bleeding country.

But to return.—A letter of Ormond's to the ſupreme council being intercepted and brought to the parliament, they cauſed it to be ſhewn to his majeſty, then under their cuſtody in the iſle of Wight, and in conſequence of its contents, in-

ſiſted that the king ſhould write to the lord lieutenent to prohibit him from proceeding any farther in his treaty with the Iriſh; but Ormond having already received an injunction not to obey any written order which might be ſent him by the king whilſt under confinement, proceeded with his negotiations notwithſtanding this prohibition, and removing to his caſtle of Kilkenny, the peace was concluded, but not till the middle of January, when it was at laſt ratified, to the great joy of Ormond, who aſſured himſelf that he ſhould now be able to raiſe twenty thouſand men for his prince's ſervice, which might be the means of delivering him out of the hands of his implacable enemies.

But, alas! he was miſerably deceived and diſappointed.——Before he could poſſibly draw together any forces, whereby to attack or intimidate the parliament, his royal maſter was no more. Deceived, betrayed, worſe than butchered or aſſaſſinated, he fell the victim of his own honour and confidence, and falling, left a mark of indelible infamy on his murderers.——

The duke of Hamilton having invaded England with an army of Scots, Cromwell marching againſt him, in his abſence the intereſt of the preſbyterian party, who now deſired to treat with the king, prevailing over that of the Independants who were averſe to any royal government, ſeveral meſſages paſſed between Charles and the two houſes, who at length agreed to enter into a treaty with the king, after he ſhould have ſigned certain preliminary bills, and even voted "That his majeſty might return with honour and ſafety to his capital." But the duke of Hamilton, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had invaded England in favour of his ſovereign, being totally defeated

feated by Cromwell's army, that general no ſooner notified his return, than the Independants, of whoſe faction he was the great ſupport, began again to rear their heads, and though the two houſes ſtill continued to addreſs the king, yet they found their meaſures in a great degree thwarted, and their perſons threatened.——Cromwell all this time finding the Preſbyterian party paid little regard to a remonſtrance that he had ſent them, gave them notice that he ſhould march directly towards the capital, in order to call to account thoſe who had adopted ſuch a conduct, for the inſult. This meſſage threw them into the greateſt embarraſſment. The city of London, which had ſo often and ſo ſucceſsfully defied its ſovereign, was now ſtruck with the moſt extreme conſternation. The ſum of forty thouſand pounds demanded by the general was promiſed him, and he was requeſted to come no nearer to London, but this was not granted. The king was removed by his expreſs orders, without conſent of the parliament, who were treating with him, and ſo far was he from regarding their complaints of ſuch underhand dealings, that he advanced to Weſtminſter, where he garbled the parliament, and having arreſted ſuch members as he thought proper, took his ſeat in the houſe, and was thanked by the Independant members for his ſervices.

At length this fag-end of a remnant of an illegal parliament (afterwards aptly called in deriſion, The Rump) preſumed to conſtitute what they termed a high court of juſtice, to try their ſovereign, who, whilſt he was on his road, had every hour expected to be privately aſſaſſinated, but had never conceived that his enemies would preſume to call majeſty itſelf before their mock-tribunal, and thereby make their infamy as public, as it

was their boaſt his fate ſhould be.—However, at length the fatal day came, and Charles (having previouſly miſſed an opportunity of eſcaping on his way by a horſe being lamed, which was intended to convey him far from theſe bloody ſavages) was at length brought before their accurſed courts, where with a ſpirit exceeding that which he had ſhewn in his moſt proſperous days, a ſpirit truly heroic, as riſing under the weight of afflictions, with which his generous breaſt was ſurcharged, the monarch, great and amiable in diſtreſs, with equal dignity of ſoul and generoſity of ſentiment, declared himſelf willing to give ſatisfaction to his people, but abſolutely refuſed to render the leaſt anſwer to the pretended court, unleſs they could prove by law, cuſtom, or precedent that they had a right to call him to ſuch an account. With a juſt and becoming diſdain he ſat before them covered, and refuſed to ſhew the leaſt external mark of reſpect to thoſe whoſe conduct his great heart deſpiſed, though he was too good a Chriſtian to hate their perſons.—— Twice brought before them, thus did he demean himſelf.——Then the commiſſioners proceeded to publiſh a charge againſt him for having formed a deſign of introducing arbitrary power and tyrannical government, and for having waged a war with the parliament, and being the author of all the bloodſhed, decay of commerce, and other evils which had ſucceeded. This had previouſly been read in his preſence, and he had ſmiled at the impotent malice of the charge;—it was now made public to prejudice the people, and prepare them for the fatal cataſtrophe.

Charles was then once more conducted into the preſence of his judges.—He ſtill appeared as the two former times before but having been always interrupted when he began to ſpeak, he now de-

ſired

ſired he might be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber, as he had ſome matters of importance to communicate.——On this declaration the judges withdrew, and conferred a while; but the majority of theſe pretended advocates for freedom would not allow their ſovereign this liberty, whereupon as he would not condeſcend to make any defence before them, the preſident, Bradſhaw, having harrangued as long as he thought fit, on the juſtice and propriety of ſubjects impeaching and trying their ſovereign, ſentence was read, in which he was condemned by the name of Charles Stuart, to ſuffer decapitation for treaſon. As he returned from the hall, the ſoldiers in general, and the rabble were inſtigated to cry aloud for juſtice and execution. It is needleſs here, and would be ſhocking to repeat the inſults this injured majeſty received; ſuffice it to ſay, he bore all with patience and reſignation: calm and compoſed, he beheld his laſt ſtage of life approaching;—all that he deſired was to ſee his children at his return to Whitehall, and to be attended by doctor Juxon, biſhop of London, in his private devotions, both which requeſts being granted, he quietly reſigned himſelf to his fate.

During an interval of three days, between the ſentence and its execution, Fairfax and others endeavoured to prevent it, but in vain. At length the warrant was granted for this hapleſs prince's death, when he paſſed through the banquetting houſe belonging to his own palace of Whitehall, to a ſcaffold that was erected adjoining, which was covered with black, when two executioners in vizors ſtood ready to do the work of death. In this laſt ſcene, Charles's fortitude did not fail him; he was not diſcompoſed at all this aweful

parade.—He declared himſelf innocent of ſhedding the blood of his people, and of other crimes laid to his charge by the parliament;——but as at that dreadful hour, men are accuſtomed to recollect all their faults and failings, ſo this pious prince could not help ſaying, "Innocent as he was of other things, he looked upon the execution of this ſentence, as a judgement of Heaven upon him for having permitted the death of the earl of Strafford."——He then declared he forgave all his enemies, and died in the true proteſtant faith, beſeeching Heaven to bring his people to a due ſenſe of their duty, and to incline their hearts to acknowledge his ſon his ſucceſſor.—— After this receiving a ſhort exhortation from doctor Juxon, with great humility and reſpect, taking off his cloak, he delivered his George to the biſhop, and laying his head down upon the block, gave the fatal ſignal, when one of the executioners at a blow, ſevered his head from his body, and the other holding it up to the public view, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The body being put into a coffin, was conveyed to Whitehall, and embalmed, and afterwards expoſed ſeveral days at the palace of St. James's.—At laſt, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, and the earl of Lindſay obtained permiſſion to bury it in a private manner, thus giving the laſt ſad teſtimony of the duty they owed their unhappy ſovereign, by the interment of his beloved remains.

Thus fell Charles the Firſt, who, though he certainly was not without failings, might yet have reigned long and happy, and have been eſteemed a good and generous prince, in almoſt any other nation that acknowledged a kingly government, except in England, or in England at any other period

period than that in which he ſwayed the ſceptre.—With regard to his public character, he was a prince who bore a ſtrict regard to the religion and the conſtitution of his country, but he was ſo unhappy as to live at a time when the former was overborne by fanaticiſm, and the latter was on the point of undergoing ſuch alterations as he was far from ever expecting would take place.—He was attached to epiſcopacy by a double tie, he had ſworn to maintain it, and beſides, he ſupported it from principle; but this occaſioned him ſometimes to exhibit too much of blind zeal, and an intolerant ſpirit in what regarded the concerns of the church.——He was bred up in high notions of prerogative, and conceived the powers he exerciſed to be conſtitutional, becauſe the princes, his predeceſſors, had aſſumed them; but he obſerved not that he reigned at a period when commerce had introduced a more extenſive notion of freedom, and the people were led to claim whatever they had at any time enjoyed, and *more*, and to curtail this prerogative, which he deemed a jewel inſeparable from the crown.—On the whole, Charles deſerved the name of a good prince, and a vituous man, though he was guilty of certain pieces of miſconduct, which at length ended in his own ruin, and that of his moſt loyal ſubjects. Indeed his greateſt imperfection ſeems to be a kind of weakneſs, almoſt hereditary to the Stuarts, namely, That of ſuffering himſelf to be guided by perſons of weaker intellects than himſelf, which led him into many ſnares, and raiſed the popular clamour againſt him, and that of running precipitately into meaſures which he always failed in ſupporting. Yet that he was not a tyrant, as ſome have choſen to call him, is clear from this laſt circumſtance. Had he been a tyrant, he would have hazarded every thing to defeat the firſt inſurrection in Scotland,

which

which muſt have cruſhed rebellion in its birth, both there and in England.——Had he been one in the laſt inſtance, he would have found the means of timely ſacrificing his religious views to the Iriſh confederates, and granting them ſuch conceſſions (if not by Ormond, by ſome other lord lieutenant) as would have armed their whole nation in his ſervice, and at ſuch a juncture infallibly have delivered him from all apprehenſions of his Engliſh rebels.——He did neither of theſe things, and therefore he ran upon his own ruin, contenting himſelf with the comfort of a clear conſcience, and dying a martyr to his principles.

After his deceaſe the people of England in general ſeem to have recollected their error, and to have deplored his fall, when it was too late.—— The very ſpectators at his execution were ſo much affected, that many of them fell into violent convulſions, and other maladies. The throng preſſed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, as that of a ſaint, and the countenances of moſt of thoſe who were preſent expreſſed deep marks of ſorrow and remorſe;—— this horror ſeemed to have ſeized upon a great part of the nation, while the vile regicides ſtood unaffected, ſurveying with the greateſt calmneſs the villainy they had committed, and reſolving to plunge ſtill deeper in the ſea of blood, they not long after executed the duke of Hamilton, and many other royaliſts.——But vengeance overtook ſome of the principal of theſe hypocrites in a ſucceeding reign, and they were condemned to an ignominious death, leaving behind them a name which will be for ever hateful to poſterity.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

THOUGH immediately after the death of King Charles the First, the parliament had publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons on pain of incurring the penalty of high treaſon, to acknowledge Charles Stuart, ſon of the late king, as ſovereign of England, yet he was not without a conſiderable party in their juriſdiction; and as for the prince of Wales, who was at the Hague when he received theſe melancholy tidings, he immediately took upon him the title of king, whilſt all thoſe that attended him, and had been members of his father's council, being now continued, took their oaths to him. But finding that the ſtates of Holland would ſoon deſire his abſence

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ſence rather than come to a diſpute with the new republic, thinking it beſt to quit their dominions without being deſired ſo to do, he begun to conſider whither he ſhould retreat, and at length caſt his eyes upon Ireland, as a country where he ſhould be moſt likely to meet with a ſafe and honourable aſylum.

Ormond having already proclaimed this prince by the ſtyle and title of Charles the Second at Youghall and at Carrick, the new monarch ſent him notice of his intentions, and at the ſame time let him know, That the kirk had ordered him to be proclaimed king in Scotland, but that they diſapproved of the peace which his excellency had concluded with the confederates.

At this time prince Rupert, who commanded the royal fleet, being obliged to retire before a ſuperior navy under the command of the earl of Warwick, put into Crook-Haven, by a miſtake of his pilot, intending for Kinſale where he arrived on the tenth of February, where he received the news of the peace, and of the king's martyrdom, whereupon the new monarch was proclaimed king, and the prince put himſelf, his officers, and ſhips all into mourning for the late cataſtrophe, ſhewing all poſſible reſpect to the memory of his late royal maſter.

And while prince Rupert remained at Kinſale, he made ſeveral prizes by which means he was furniſhed with money and proviſions, and was even enabled to levy a body of men, which he ſent to the relief of Scilly. The parliament on this ſent Blake and Dean with orders to block up his fleet in the harbour, which was accordingly effected, and they remained in this ſtate all the ſummer Owen Roe, in the mean time, ſent to inform the prince, That he never intended to join the marquis of Ormond, but that if any of

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the royal blood would take upon him the government, he would readily come in; but as this was what his highneſs could not accept of, ſo all the effect it had was that of occaſioning captain Leg to be ſent to haſten the king's voyage to Ireland, who being taken, was impriſoned at Plymouth, and condemned to death by a court martial for this piece of ſervice.——And the prince being greatly reduced, could not have put to ſea again, if it had not been for the generoſity of Mr. Robert Southwell, a gentleman who furniſhed him with proviſions on his own account, for though Waterford and Cork were ſolicited to fit out fire-ſhips to aſſiſt him againſt the parliament's fleet, it was reſolved that they ſhould rather lie before the harbour till the tempeſtuous weather obliged them to remove, which reſolution was followed accordingly, after which the prince ſailed for Portugal, and arrived at Liſbon in ſafety.——

But there was one circumſtance that was of greater advantage to the king's affairs than any thing which for a long time had happened in Ireland, and that was the departure of the nuncio; for the general aſſembly approving the truce concluded with Inchiquin, and the confederates too late perceiving many of the miſchiefs his adminiſtration of affairs had brought upon them, found it neceſſary to order their ſpeaker to give him notice by letter to quit the kingdom at his peril, incloſing a liſt of grievances, on account of which they intended to impeach him before his holineſs. And this proud prelate perceiving that, partly by his malice and partly by his blunders, he had occaſioned and precipitated the untimely fate of the late king, and dreading the ſpirit which was now rouſed againſt him amongſt the majority of the people, took ſhipping at Galway, and returned

turned to Rome, where he was ſeverely reprimanded by the pope for the abuſe of his truſt, a poor recompence for the train of evils he had brought upon the people whom he was ſent to aſſiſt and ſupport!——Had the parliament ſhip, which chaced him ſo cloſely, taken him before he had reached Ireland, it would have been one of the happieſt events that could have happened to the natives of that unhappy country, as thereby the catholics might have been united to their lawful ſovereign, and in ſome meaſure atoned for their former rebellion by their ſervice and obedience to him, and by ſubmitting timely to order and good government, while thus his majeſty's loyal proteſtant ſubjects would have been delivered from their fears and jealouſies, and lived in the quiet enjoyment of their lawful patrimonies and poſſeſſions.

But it was now rather too late to effect theſe good purpoſes; for though the nuncio was departed, yet he had left a portion of his ſpirit behind him, Owen Roe and the marquis of Antrim ſtill oppoſing the peace, and the friars every where threatening damnation to all thoſe who accepted it.—Nay, his temper was carried ſo far in the ſequel, that he concluded a treaty with Monk, as he did alſo with colonel Richard Coot, whereby the nunciotiſts and the parliamentarians mutually aſſiſting each other,——the affairs of each party were greatly benefited by it,—but the parliament having reaped the advantage of theſe treaties quietly enough, were troubled with ſuch qualms of conſcience as cauſed them afterwards to diſavow the conduct of thoſe that made them, and, in particular Monk was ſeverely rebuked by the houſe, who paſſed a vote againſt his proceedings, but, obſerving that ſagacious general ſaw through the veil of their hypocriſy,

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they were contented to ſoften the rigour of their reſolution, and at length paſſed it in the form following.

" Reſolved—That this houſe doth utterly diſapprove of the proceedings of colonel Monk, in the treaty and ceſſation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neal; and that the innocent blood which hath been ſhed in Ireland is ſo freſh in the memory of this houſe that this houſe doth abhor and deteſt the thoughts of cloſing with any party of popiſh rebels there who have had their hands in ſhedding that blood.

" Nevertheleſs, the houſe being ſatisfied that what the ſaid colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehenſion, neceſſary for the preſervation of the parliament of England's intereſt, the houſe is content that the farther conſideration of it, as to him, be laid aſide, and ſhall not at any time hereafter be called in queſtion."

The army of Ormond at this time conſiſted of about fourteen thouſand five hundred foot, and three thouſand ſeven hundred horſe, under Ormond, as commander in chief, the lord of Inchiquin acted as lieutenant general, the lord of Caſtlehaven preſiding over the foot, and the lord Taaf being maſter of the ordnance extraordinary; —ſucceſs attended on this army at its firſt ſetting out, and having taken ſeveral fortreſſes, they encamped at Naas in the middle of June, then after reſting a ſpace, marched to Finglaſs, where Ormond received a great number of Catholics, whom Jones had turned out of Dublin, to prevent the inconveniency of famine.—The governor having alſo ſent a party of his horſe for want of forage to Tredagh, the earl of Inchiquin was detached to fall upon them, which he did accordingly, ſurpriſing one whole troop, and routing the reſt, and having timely received a reinforcement, he directly

directly laid ſiege to the town, which was ſurrendered upon articles, and having intelligence of ſome ſupplies ſent by Monk to Owen Roe, the earl attacked the convoy, routed them, and made booty of all the arms and ammunition.

The priſoners taken in the laſt action informing Inchiquin that Dundalk was left in a weak condition, he next reſolved to appear before that place, which he took by the aſſiſtance of the lord of Ardes, who commanded the preſbyterian, Britiſh and Scots forces in Ulſter, and was won over to the king's ſide by the lord lieutenant's offering him a commiſſion to be chief governor of that province.

The next thing to be done by the royaliſts, and on which the future ſucceſs of the whole war depended, was to beſiege Dublin, towards which Ormond drew his forces apace, endeavouring by all manner of means to ſtraiten their quarters, and by forming the blockade of that city to prevent ſupplies being thrown into it, which if he could perform, there was all the reaſon in the world to think that the governor could not hold out long, and the place muſt neceſſarily be forced to ſurrender for want of proviſions. He had ordered the lord Dillon of Coſtillo to ſtay on the north ſide of the city, while he himſelf with the remainder of the army, marched over the river to Rathmines, and thus began encompaſſing it; but on that very day, above two thouſand men with ſupplies of money and proviſions were received into Dublin, and news arriving that Cromwell deſigned to land in Munſter, the earl of Inchiquin was diſpatched with a large body of horſe to prevent his deſign, whilſt the reſt of the troops remained beleaguering Dublin.—This was doubtleſs a piece of bad generalſhip in Ormond, who ought

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to have conſidered the recovery of the capital as a matter of the greateſt conſequence, and not to have ſhewn ſo much apprehenſion of an enemy, who, if he could make himſelf maſter of Dublin, would ſcarcely have had a walled town to receive or ſhelter them in the kingdom,——And if it were urged that the lord lieutenant feared the revolt of Munſter, a circumſtance which actually afterwards happened, it may with juſtice be anſwered, that nothing ſo much contributed to that revolt as the ſubſequent ill ſucceſſes of the royaliſts, whereas, had they been generally victorious as at the firſt, and their armies well conducted, in all probability the people of that province would have been ſo much over-awed that no ſuch event would ever have taken place.

But the very name of Cromwell was become ſo odious, and ſo terrible to the Iriſh, that they thought of nothing ſo much as of preventing him from getting footing in their country, and Ormond's ſentiments coinciding with theirs, the army was weakened to no purpoſe, and by the addition of another error of that general, the deſign upon the capital totally miſcarried.

It was the opinion of the general officers that Baggotrath being fortified would contribute to ſtraiten Dublin, and prevent the enemy's horſe from getting any forage, whereupon major general Purcell was ſent on this ſervice, the army being kept drawn up all night in order to cover the undertaking, which, however, was not in the morning found to be ſo forward as had been expected, on which account the care of it was intruſted to another officer, and the ſoldiers were permitted to reſt themſelves, Ormond himſelf alſo retiring to his tent, not expecting a ſally from the

garriſon. But in the midſt of their ſecurity, a party marched out of Dublin, that ſuddenly fell upon their quarters, and, meeting with more ſucceſs than they themſelves could have imagined, they were by degrees joined by the greateſt part of the garriſon, and the ſurpriſe was ſuch that a ſudden panic ran through all the troops that compoſed the royal army.—It was in vain that Ormond endeavoured to rally the horſe,—they fled, and the foot ſeeing that they did ſo, were ſo far intimidated that a large body of them ſurrendered to the enemy. The lord Taaffe making his way to the north ſide of the river, ſollicited the lord Dillon of Coſtillo, who had two thouſand five hundred men under his command on that ſide to fall upon the aſſailants with thoſe freſh troops, a piece of advice which if it had been followed might yet have wreſted the victory out of their hands; but as the misfortune had happened in the general's quarters, they diſpaired of ſucceſs, and indeed could ſcarcely recollect themſelves ſufficiently to march off in good order, which when at laſt they effected, no other ſervice remained for them than for the one half to make all ſpeed to Trim, and the other half to Tredagh, whilſt the lord lieutenant himſelf went directly to Kilkenny, in order to recruit his forces and to conſult what was farther to be done upon the occaſion.

It is not without reaſon that this defeat has been accounted a moſt ſhameful one, certainly a ſurpriſe of this kind muſt reflect great diſhonour upon a general——Ormond, whatever were his abilities, was very negligent in his diſpoſitions, and held the enemy too cheap, or no ſuch defeat could have happened, a defeat which in moſt of its circumſtances reſembles that of Roderic, monarch

of

of Ireland by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers as mentioned in a former part of this hiſtory.—Nor indeed did Ormond himſelf ſay much in his own excuſe in the account he gave the king of that unhappy affair, he only tells him that he will take all poſſible care to prevent the advantages the rebels may make of the victory, but owns the defeat to be full and general, which certainly he would not ſo readily have done, if any thing could have been ſaid in extenuation of it. Carte.

—Indeed it was a moſt fatal event, not ſo much for the loſs the royal army ſuſtained (which amounted in killed, wounded, and priſoners to about four thouſand men, together with all the baggage and ordnance) but on account of the blow it gave to the marquis of Ormond's reputation with the Iriſh as a general.——In this reſpect, the defeat at Rathmines may juſtly have been ſaid to have occaſioned the loſs of Ireland to the parliamentarians, whoſe forces though commanded by their great leader Cromwell, would otherwiſe probably have been baffled in their undertaking.

Yet the lord lieutenant after this action ſeems to have taken the moſt prudent ſteps, it was poſſible for an officer to take in his ſituation; for, having garriſoned Trim and Tredagh, he ſtopped at Ballyſhannon, which he got ſurrendered to him by making thoſe who had the defence of that caſtle believe that Dublin was actually taken.—Jones, on his part, in order to improve his victory, made haſte to Tredagh, in order to reduce that place; but it was moſt valiantly defended by the lord Moor, and Ormond alſo coming to Trim with his forces, the enemy was obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the eighteenth of Auguſt, which (ſays Cox) was the very day that Owen Roe O'Neal obliged the lord of Ardes,

who had beſieged Londonderry to draw off his forces; ſo that the two ſieges were raiſed on one day.

And now the ſcene began to ſhift faſt in Ireland, Cromwell who had firſt given out that he would land in Munſter, and probably intended to do ſo, receiving intelligence of the defeat at Rathmines, went directly for Dublin. He had an army of nine thouſand men, and as the Engliſh rebels were maſters of the ſeas, he had alſo the advantage of having a good fleet always to attend him. Having ſettled all matters to his mind in the capital, iſſuing out from thence with ten thouſand men, he immediately marched to beſiege Tredagh, which had in it a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by Sir Arthur Aſton, who thought himſelf ſo ſure of defending the town, which he aſſerted could not be taken by aſſault, that he adviſed Ormond, who then lay at Trim, not to hazard any thing by marching to its relief; nevertheleſs Cromwell, who without making regular approaches, had erected his firſt battery on the ninth day of September, ſtormed it at five o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day. Twice were his men beat off, and one colonel Caſſels was killed in the aſſault, yet returning to the attack the third time he took the town, and moſt barbarouſly put all the garriſon to the ſword, except only about thirty perſons whom he ſent to Barbadoes, circumſtances that ſo terrified the Iriſh, that Dundalk and many other places near Trim ſubmitted, and Cromwell returned triumphant to Dublin, to the great mortification both of the royaliſts and the confederates, the latter of which had now reaſon to wiſh they had ſooner concluded their differences with their king, which might have prevented their being thus expoſed to the attacks of this ſavage and inhuman enemy.

Yet,

Yet, if we may believe the proteſtant writers, the catholics even in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, while Tredagh was beſieged by Cromwell, fell out with the proteſtants in the ſame town, and driving them out of their own church, inſiſted upon celebrating maſs there, a moſt remarkable inſtance of their ſtupid biggotry and ill-timed zeal, and the deſire they had to revive old diſputes, which it was their intereſt (if poſſible) ſhould be forgotten for ever.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the king ſtill entertained a deſign of coming over to Ireland, as he acquainted Ormond by letter, and he alſo ſettled a revenue upon Preſton out of the forfeited eſtates, and created him viſcount Taragh, in order to ſhew his good-will to ſuch of the Iriſh as eſpouſed his cauſe.

But Cromwell, who was indefatigable in all his ſchemes, and generally knew well how to improve his victories, proceeded taking fortreſs after fortreſs, till at length he came before Wexford, which place, notwithſtanding conſiderable ſuccours were thrown into it, was taken by the enemy, the caſtle being ſurrendered by captain James Stafford, and its guns turned upon the town, which made the inhabitants lay aſide all farther thoughts of defence; ſo that while they endeavoured to eſcape over the river the enemy ſcaled the walls, and entering, put all that were found in arms to the ſword.

Roſs next, and afterwards Waterford was attacked.—The former fell into the hands of Cromwell, being ſurrendered as ſoon as the cannon began to play upon the place, but the latter was not ſo eaſily reduced, for Cromwell having lain long before it and loſt many men during a winter ſiege, thought proper this time to retire, and the Engliſh writers ſay, that Ormond, who came to

the relief of this city would have attacked his forces, and done good execution, if the inhabitants would have lent him their boats to have carried them over the river and fallen upon the rear of his army.

Cromwell now marched to Dungarvan, vexed heartily at the ill ſucceſs of his arms before Waterford, but he was ſoon made ample amends for this misfortune by the ſhameful revolt of the towns of Cork, which were garriſoned by Engliſhmen, three thouſand five hundred of whom, by means of the lord Broghill, colonel Courtney, and others were brought to meet Cromwell at Whitechurch, and engaged themſelves in his ſervice.

This revolt on one ſide, and the little reſpect ſhewn by the Catholics to Ormond, on the other hand, ſo effectually deſtroyed the mutual confidence between the Engliſh and Iriſh, that Cromwell eaſily perceived conqueſt would wait on him wherever he bent the courſe of his arms; and Corke furniſhed him with excellent winter quarters, which prevented his being neceſſitated to return to Dublin.—

The Catholic prelates and clergy meeting at Cluanmacnoiſe, made many exhortations to unity, declared that no tolerable conditions for their religion, liberties and eſtates could be expected from Cromwell, and profeſſed great fidelity to the royal party; nevertheleſs a paper of grievances was preſented to the lord lieutenant, who permitted the commiſſioners of truſt to iſſue circular letters for deputies from all parts of the kingdom to ſet forth theſe grievances, which aſſembly was at firſt intended to meet at Kilkenny, but being alarmed there, adjourned, and at length met Ormond at Limerick, where he told them, "That unleſs the people were brought to have a full confidence

confidence in him, and to yield a perfect obedience to him, and unleſs the city of Limerick, in particular, would receive a garriſon and obey orders, there were no hopes of making any conſiderable oppoſition to the enemy, deſiring them to deal freely in letting him know, whether they had any miſtruſt of him or diſlike of his government, obſerving that, ſince the name of Lord Lieutenant without the power, would bring nothing but ruin upon the nation and diſhonour upon him, they ſhould therefore either procure entire obedience to his authority, or propoſe how the kingdom might be preſerved without it."

They replied with great demonſtrations of zeal and affection; however they delivered to his Excellency a paper of advice, remarking certain circumſtances in the government, which they wiſhed to be amended, though indeed there were ſcarcely any grievances which they could juſtly complain of, excepting ſuch as were inſeparable from the confuſed and diſordered ſtate of the kingdom, as the lord lieutenant obſerved in his anſwer, which was couched in ſuch terms, that the commiſſioners ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied; and in conſequence of it iſſued the following declaration.

"The declaration of the undernamed biſhops, in the name of themſelves and the reſt of the biſhops convoked at Limerick, as deputed by them, preſented to the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant for his Majeſty, and General Governor of Ireland, &c.

"May it pleaſe your Excellency to be informed, That, We are very ſenſible of the jealouſies and ſuſpicions conceived of us, (as was intimated unto us) that we believe ariſing from ſome diſaffected and miſunderſtanding perſons, who ſpare

not to give ill characters of us: as if in theſe deplorable times, wherein our religion, king and country are come to the vertical point of their total ruin and deſtruction, it ſhould be imagined by any that we behave ourſelves, like ſleeping paſtors in no ways contributed our beſt endeavours for the preſervation of the people; which ought to be more dear unto us than any worldly thing that may be thought of: wherefore, as well for the juſt vindication of our own reputation, againſt ſuch undeſerved aſperſions as for future teſtimony of our ſincerity and integrity, to endeavour always the ſafety of the people, and to manifeſt to your Excellency, as the King's Majeſty's Lieutenant and Chief Governor of this kingdom. That no labour or care of ours hath been, or ſhall be wanting to proceed effectually to any propoſals you will pleaſe to make known unto us, that may conduce to thoſe ends:—we thought it therefore fit to preſent this declaration of our real intentions, in the name of ourſelves and the reſt of our brethren, the archbiſhops and biſhops of this kingdom, whereby we avow, teſtify, declare, and proteſt before God and the world. That ſince our general meeting at Cluanmacnoiſe, we have omitted nothing that did occur unto us, tending to the advancement of his majeſty's intereſt and the good of the kingdom generally conſidered: we have there, and then ordered and decreed all to us appertaining, or which was in our power, neceſſarily conducing to the public conſervation of his majeſty, and his ſubjects intereſt: And alſo, do and have endeavoured to root out of men's hearts all jealouſies and ſiniſter opinions, conceived either againſt your Excellency or the preſent government; as by our acts there re-

recited may appear. —— And after our parting from thence, in purſuance of our unanimous reſolution taken in that place, we have accordingly declared to our reſpective flocks our happy agreement amongſt ourſelves, and our earneſt deſire to labour with them to thoſe ends; and made uſe of our beſt perſuaſions, for the purchaſing of their alacrity and chearful concurrence to the advantage of that ſervice. So that if any thing were wanting of due correſpondence, ſought by your Excellency, we conceive it cannot be attributed to any want of care or diligence in us.

" And, for farther intimation of our hearty deſires on all occaſions to ſerve our king and country, We declare, That we are not yet deterred for want of good ſucceſs in the affairs of the kingdom, but rather animated to give farther onſets, and try all other poſſible ways: Wherefore we moſt humbly intreat your Excellency, for pacifying of diſcontented minds, to put us in a way how to labour further in ſo good a cauſe: and we do faithfully promiſe that no induſtry or care ſhall be wanting in us, to receive and execute your injunction."

" And, in concluſion, we leave to all impartial judicious perſons, ſad and ſerious conſideration to think how incredible it is, that we ſhould fail to oppoſe, to the uttermoſt of our power, the fearful and increaſing potency of the rebellious and malignant murderer of our late ſovereign king Charles: to which enemy alſo nothing ſeemeth more odious than the names of kings and biſhops; and who aims at nothing ſo much as the dethroning of our now gracious king Charles the Second, and the final extirpation of our natives, in caſe (as God forbid) events and ſucceſſes would fall ſuitable to his moſt wicked deſigns.—So far we thought

thought neceſſary to declare to your Excellency from ourſelves, as the ſenſe likewiſe and true meaning of the reſt of our brethren other biſhops of this kingdom, Dated at Loghreogh the 28th of March, Anno Domini 1650.

Jo. Archiepiſcopus Tuamenſis,
Wa. Epiſcopus Clonfert,
Fran. Alad.
Rob. Corcagen & Cuanenſis.
Fr. Hugo Epiocopus Duacenſis.

Yet the diſſatisfactions increaſed ſo much that both the Engliſh and Iriſh grew weary of each other, and Ormond diſbanding all Inchiquin's forces, except of Colonel Buller's regiment, which was intended to be ſent to the king, Dean Boyle was employed by the two nobleman to treat with Cromwell, and demand to know upon what terms the proteſtants of their party might be received into protection.

After much time waſted in addreſſes and meſſages, it was however at length agreed, that the archbiſhop of Tuam and Sir Lucas Dillon ſhould be ſent, on the part of the commiſſioners of truſt with letters to Limerick, containing an injunction for that city to receive a garriſon, and obey the orders of the Marquis of Ormond.

On this Ormond expecting a good reception from that city, reſolved to improve the firſt opportunity that preſented itſelf, and accordingly drew near to it, when he received the following letter of invitation from the Mayor, which gave him ſtill greater encouragement to proceed to fix his quarters there.

" May it pleaſe your Excellency,

" The city council have given me in command to ſignify and humbly offer unto your Excellency, that it was expected by them that you would, being

ing ſo near the city yeſterday, beſtow a viſit upon it, which it is no way doubted, had been done by your Excellency, if your greater affairs did not hinder you from the ſame; and we yet do expect, when thoſe are over, your Excellency will be pleaſed to ſtop hither to ſettle the garriſon here, which without your preſence, cannot be (as is humbly conceived) ſo well done, or with that expedition as our neceſſity requires, the particulars whereof we refer to Alderman Piers Creagh and Alderman John Bourke's relation; to whom we deſire credence may be given by your Excellency, and to believe that I will never fail to be,

Your Excellency's moſt humble ſervant,

Limierck, June 14, 1650. Jo. CREAGH, Mayor of Limerick."

To this letter the lord lieutenant gave the following anſwer.

" AFTER our hearty commendations, We have received your letter of this day's date, by the conveyance of Alderman Piers Creagh, and heard what Alderman John Bourke and he had to ſay, as from that corporation: In anſwer, whereunto We imported ſome particulars unto them, wherein We expect ſatisfaction: which if you ſend us to the rendeſvouz to-morrow where we intend to be, We ſhall viſit that city, and employ our uttermoſt endeavours, in ſettling the garriſon neceſſarily deſired thither, both for the defence and ſatisfaction of that city, and ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

Your very loving friend,

From Clare, June 12, 1650. ORMOND.

The particulars mentioned in the abovementioned letter were theſe:

I. To

I. To be received in like manner, and with ſuch reſpect, as lord lieutenants heretofore always have been.

II. To have the command of the guards, the giving of the word, and orders in the city.

III. That there be quarters provided within the city, for ſuch guards of horſe and foot as he ſhould carry in who are to be part of the garriſon, whereof a liſt ſhall be given at the rendeſvouz.

And in conſequence of this, the Marquis proceeded towards the city; but firſt the alderman waited on him, to tell him all his propoſals were agreed to, except in that of bringing in his guards, whereupon his Excellency replied, he brought them only for dignity; but in order to ſatisfy the citizens, they ſhould not exceed one hundred foot and fifty horſe; but when he ſtill proceeded on, the ſame aldermen came to him to let him know that one Wolf, a ſeditious friar having raiſed a tumult in the city, it would not be ſafe for him to enter till it was appeaſed.——Chagrined and diſappointed, his lordſhip therefore retired to Shanbuolly, from whence he ſent the following letter.

"AFTER our hearty commendation: according to our promiſe, in our letter of the 12th of this month, from Clare. We came yeſterday to the rendeſvouz, with intent to have gone into that city, for the purpoſe deſired by you in your letter of the ſame day's date, but upon our coming to the place, we received a meſſage from you, by Alderman Peirs Creagh, and Alderman John Bourke, importing, That you had conſented to all we had formerly propoſed to you, except the admittance of our guards. Hereupon we returned the ſaid meſſengers with anſwer, that we intended not the drawing in of our guards out of any miſtruſt

truſt we had of the loyalty of the magiſtrates of that city to his majeſty, or of their affection to us, but for the dignity of the place we hold, and to prevent any popular tumult that might be raiſed by deſperate and intereſted perſons againſt us, or the civil government of that city, whereunto we had cauſe to fear, ſome looſe people might by falſe and frivolous ſuggeſtions, be too eaſily inſtigated: and to take away all poſſibility of ſuſpicions from the moſt jealous, that we could have any other end to the prejudice of that city, the guards we propoſed were but one hundred foot and fifty horſe, and thoſe to conſiſt intirely of thoſe of your own religion, and ſuch as, by having been conſtantly of your confederacy, are intereſted in all the benefits of the articles of peace. To this we received no poſitive reply, but in an uncertain manner were told by the ſaid alderman, of ſome uproar raiſed by a friar, in oppoſition to the deſires and intentions of the mayor and principal citizens, touching our coming thither. Whereupon we thought not fit to ſubject his Majeſty's authority placed in us, to a poſſibility of being affronted by a wild rabble of mean people, but rather to expect the iſſue of more ſettled councils; Wherein we hope will be taken into conſideration, not only by what power you were firſt made a corporation, and by whoſe protection you have ſince flouriſhed, but alſo what ſolid foundation of ſafety (other than by receiving the defence we offer) is or can be diſcovered to you, by the preſent diſturbers of your quiet: To conclude, We expect your preſent anſwer, that in caſe we be not encouraged to proceed in the ways we have laid down in ſerving the king and preſerving that city from the tyranny of the rebels, we may apply ourſelf and forces we have gathered to

that

that purpoſe, to ſome other ſervice and ſo we bid you heartily farewell,

From Shanbuolly, Your loving friend,
June 14, 1650. ORMOND.

To our very loving friend the mayor of the city of Limerick.

Such was the conduct of the infatuated Iriſh; for which any perſonal diſlike they entertained to the marquis of Ormond muſt be conſidered but as a poor and trifling excuſe.—It was plain that their diviſions had already brought them to the verge of deſtruction, from whence it was plain that union alone would be likely to ſave them. They were aſſured that Ormond would and muſt always allow of many things favourable to the intereſt of their religion; they were no leſs certain that Cromwell never would do ſo, and there remained ſcarcely a probability of defending themſelves againſt the power of the latter while they were thus perpetually involving themſelves in diſputes with the former, yet were they reſolved to proceed on their own wrong-headed plan, from which it was out of the power of argument, or even a dear-bought experience to diſſuade them.

In the mean time, the Cromwellians went on in ſuch a manner as ſhewed they knew how to improve their ſucceſſes, and benefit by the errors of their adverſaries; the moſt diſtant towns already imagined they ſaw them at their very gates, and the Iriſh ſeemed every where to be poſſeſſed with that conſciouſneſs of inferiority which generally fore-runs the ruin of a people. Nevertheleſs it was not even now too late, if the confederates had adhered to the dictates of loyalty and prudence, by joining hand and heart with the royaliſts to have given a check to the arms of the rebels, and to have made a noble ſtand for

for the defence of their country. For their oppoſers were not entirely free from diſſentions; the Cromwellians indeed agreed well enough in their deſign of reducing and ſpoiling the country; but the Scots and the preſbyterians in Ulſter in general declared againſt the parliament of England, and on this occaſion the lord of Ardes, Sir George Monroe, and others, joined the royaliſts, and even the remainder that did not take this ſtep, were ſo fierce againſt the party of Cromwell, that if a general diverſion had been made in their favour, though without joining them, their ſubſequent defeat might have been prevented, and the affairs of his majeſty, and the Iriſh nation been much benefited by ſuch a kind of policy.

But while theſe things were paſſing, Cromwell, who had marched out of his quarters in the month of February, took ſeveral fortified places, and, coming before Calan, was joined by colonel Zanchy, who had been employed in the ſame manner, whereupon they took that place, and marched to Gowran, where Hewit, who had taken Ballyſhannon, Kildare, and Leighlin, came to them, and thus united, they ſo ſucceſsfully aſſailed the place that it was ſurrendered after a moſt valiant reſiſtance, by Colonel Hammond, whom theſe bloody rebels put ro death, together with moſt of his officers. Kilkenny being next attacked, was ſurrendered alſo, the earl of Caſtlehaven and his forces having quitted that town, on account of the plague that raged there; but the place was ſurrendered by Sir Walter Butler and major Waliſh upon very honourable conditions, and Cromwell moved on to Clonmel, where he ſtood a chance of being baffled, and certainly would have been ſo (the garriſon being well provided, and an army gathered under the catholic biſhop of Roſs to raiſe the ſiege) had not the old jea-

louſies

louſies between the proteſtants and papiſts been again revived. For the lord lieutenant having received a ſtrange kind of information concerning this biſhop's intent to raiſe twenty thouſand men, and ſhake off the king's authority, gave the Iriſh proteſtants leave to treat with Cromwell, to whom the lord Broghill went over, and having obtained two thouſand horſe and dragoons, and ſixteen hundred foot, he marched to Carrigadroghid, which he found defended by the biſhop's ſoldiers, there he left his foot, and proceeded with the horſe to Macroom.——The Iriſh in the caſtle perceiving he drew towards them, ſet fire to it, and haſtened to join their army in the park, which however was routed, and the biſhop himſelf taken priſoner.—The victors promiſed, him his life, on condition of his cauſing Carrigadroghid to be ſurrendered; but, with a ſpirit becoming an old Roman, when he came thither he heroically exhorted the garriſon to hold out to the laſt extremity. This action, which ſo much reſembled that of Regulus, was puniſhed like his, with the death of the general in his retreat, though indeed not quite ſo barbarouſly executed; for whereas the Roman was put to death by torture, the Cromwellians were ſo moderate as to content themſelves with hanging this noble-minded Iriſhman for an action that deſerved for ever to be remembered with honour.

But ſtill Clonmel was not ſurrendered (though the rebels were by this imprudent deſertion of the royaliſts, and the ſucceſs of the lord Broghil, delivered from the fears of an army which otherwiſe would probably have put an end to all their ſucceſſes in Ireland) and Cromwell himſelf after having loſt two thouſand men out of three thouſand, began to deſpair of ſucceſs, when the ammunition of the beſieged failing them, the governor

vernor withdrew the ſoldiers by night, and the townſmen treating with Cromwell, delivered up the place upon good conditions, he not being acquainted with the circumſtances of the deſertion of the garriſon; and ſoon after he returned to England, leaving the command to his ſon-in-law, Ireton, who proſecuted the war with vigour and ſucceſs.

The Ulſter army having reſerved a right to themſelves of electing their own general, choſe the catholic biſhop of Clogher, to whom the lord lieutenant ſent a commiſſion. This eccleſiaſtic was a man of great parts but ſo furious a zealot for his religion, and ſo particularly biggotted to the old Iriſh race, that he purged his army of all that were not of that extraction; yet he ſolicited the aid of the Scots, obſerving to them, "That as miſconſtruction and miſtake had made the Scots at firſt ariſe againſt his majeſty, who was their own fleſh and blood, ſo it was likewiſe miſunderſtanding that occaſioned the falling-out between the Iriſh and the Scots in the beginning of thoſe wars." And therefore he moved, that all ſhould be forgotten, and all diſtinctions of nation or religion poſtponed and ſacrificed to his majeſty's intereſt and ſervice.

But on the fourteenth day of April, Sir Charles Coot, being in the Lagan, ſending to colonel Venables, then in Claneboy, to meet him at the rendeſvous near Charlemont. The biſhop of Clogher having ſurpriſed Toom, and paſſed over ſome horſe and foot into the county of Antrim, Venables was countermanded, and ordered to endeavour the recovery of Toom, while Coot marched into the barony of Loghinſolin to countenance him, and to keep ſome Iriſh regiments in that diſtrict ſo fully employed, that they might not

diſturb Venables.——Accordingly Toom was retaken; —— and Sir Charles Coot returned to Dungeven, but for want of proviſions was forced to march to Omagh, and the Iriſh came to Charlemont:—— being thus poſted between Coot and Venables; and as it was not practicable to get the biſhop from his ground, the former inſtead of making the expected junction in the manner he deſigned, was obliged to paſs the river of Loghfoil, and thereby to leave the country expoſed to be ravaged by the Iriſh, who took Dungeven by ſtorm, and had Bally caſtle ſurrendered to them. Afterwards the biſhop paſſed Clody-Ford fell upon Coot's forces and attacked them with great valour; but the latter had by this time gotten a paſs which ſecured a communication between his troops, and thoſe of Venables, if that commander could but come timely to his aſſiſtance. This paſs the Iriſh ſtrove to gain, but in vain; whereupon the biſhop being a perſon of great judgement eaſily perceived that he ſhould be obliged to encounter a double force if he did not either re-paſs the river, or fight before Venables ſhould come up; he choſe the latter expedient; however Sir Charles Coot not being ſo ſtrong as he, had no reaſon to fight, but managed to avoid coming to an engagement till the other ſhould arrive, who marching from Colerain to Derry, while detachments from the two armies were ſkirmiſhing with each other, Coot therefore perceiving him at hand, no longer declined facing the Iriſh, but being re-inforced with a thouſand foot of Venables's, which were ferried over from Derry, he offered the biſhop battle, which he did not decline, and the conſequence was that the Engliſh obtained a complete victory, after an obſtinate engagement, the Iriſh army being routed

routed and ruined, and the biſhop himſelf taken priſoner, who was hanged the next day, notwithſtanding about a year before he was confederate with Sir Charles Coot in raiſing the ſiege of Derry, and made merry with him at his own table.

At this time the duke of Lorrain ſent his agent, colonel Oliver Synot into Irelaud, who offered great things on behalf of his maſter, which however by ſome means or other came to nothing, and in the mean time the enemy was every where getting ground, a circumſtance which the confederates alledged in excuſe for treating with foreign princes, which the popiſh clergy aſſembled at Jameſtown, gave the biſhop of Fernes and Hugh Rochford authority to do.——And to his excellency the marquis of Ormond they ſent the following complaining letter:

" May it pleaſe your Excellency,

" THIS nation (become of late the fable and reproach of Chriſtianity) is brought to a ſad condition! Notwithſtanding, the frequent and laborious meetings and conſultations of the prelates, we find jealouſies and fears deep in the hearts of men: thorns hard to take out! We ſee moſt men contributing to the enemy, and rendering their perſons and ſubſtance uſeful to his malice, and deſtructive to religion and the king's intereſt. This kind of men (if not timely prevented) will betray irremediably themſelves and us.—— We find no ſtock or ſubſtance ordered for maintaining the ſoldiers, nor is there an army any way conſiderable in the kingdom to recover what is loſt, or defend what we hold: ſo as humanly ſpeaking, if (God will not be pleaſed for his mercy's ſake, to take off from us the heavy judgements of his anger) we are in the fair way for loſing ſacred religion, the king's authority,

and Ireland. The four archbiſhops to acquit their own conſciences in the eyes of God, have reſolved to meet at Jameſtown, about the ſixth day of the next month, and to bring about as many of the ſuffragans as may repair there with ſafety, The end of this conſultation is to do what in us lieth for the amendment of errors, and recovery of this afflicted people. If your excellency ſhall think fit in your wiſdom to ſend one or more perſons to make propoſals for the ſafety of the nation, we ſhall not want willingneſs to prepare good anſwers, nor will we deſpair of the bleſſing of God, and of his powerful influence to be upon our ſincere intentions in that place. Even ſo we conclude, remaining,

Your Excellency's

June 14, 1650. Moſt humble ſervants,

Fr. Thomas Dublin,

Jo. Archiepiſcopus Tuamen.

To which remonſtrance the lord lieutenant very ſenſibly anſwered, attributing the chief evils the nation laboured under to the want of ſubordination and obedience, without which he profeſſed, as he had often declared, he could not poſſibly effect any thing of benefit towards the preſervation of the kingdom. In conſequence of this anſwer, the congregation made a reply, wherein they expreſſed their grief and ſurpriſe at Ormond's aſſertion, and proteſted they had done all in their power to take away all jealouſies and differences. But they accompanied this addreſs with a meſſage, wherein they requeſted his lordſhip would retire to the king, and leave his authority in the hands of ſome perſon or perſons faithful to his majeſty, whom they promiſed to obey.—In effect they deſired him quietly to quit the

the kingdom, becauſe they did not like him for a governor.

The commiſſioners of truſt, to whom the marquis communicated this letter, ſeemed ſurpriſed at its contents, to which they adviſed his lordſhip to render no poſitive anſwer, but rather to propoſe a conference with the Iriſh, which advice he followed, but when he came to the place of appointment they never reſorted thither, however the biſhops of Cork and Clonfert being ſent to him, he returned an anſwer to their meſſage ſpecifying ſeveral ſubſtantial reaſons why he conceived it would injure his majeſty's intereſt for him to quit Ireland at that juncture, and again repeating his complaints of diſobedience, which he ſolemnly called upon the prelates to do all in their power to remove.——But even before this anſwer arrived, the congregation excommunicated the lord lieutenant and all his adherents, on the one hand, whilſt to make the breach wider, on the other, the king, then in Scotland, was moſt unadviſedly prevailed on by the kirk, from whoſe power he expected great matters, to declare againſt the peace concluded with the Iriſh, which however could not excuſe the conduct of that people, becauſe their ſtrange behaviour to the lord lieutenant, and their excommunication of him and his adherents was prior in point of time to this renunciation, which the Scots forced upon his majeſty.

But if theſe pertinacious puritans could prevail ſo much with their ſovereign as to the impoſing the covenant on him, ſcarcely any thing elſe that he complied with could remain a ſubject of wonder. The truth was, that though they acknowledged him as their king, yet they kept him among them in a ſituation even worſe than that of a ſtate priſoner. His ears were perpe-

tually dinned with the advice of their counſellors, and the more ſickening exhortations of their preachers.—He heard his own party ſtigmatized with the title of malignants, as well as Cromwell's with that of ſectaries. He was entertained with long-winded declarations againſt the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own abandoned ſtate; he was afterwards forced to publiſh a declaration, aſcribing all the blood that was ſhed in the civil wars to the ill ſpirit of his deceaſed father, and the evil counſels of his mother, and in ſhort to fix a ſtigma upon his whole family. All this the king did in order by means of the Scots to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of England; but he and his puritanical ſubjects having different ends in view, purſued different and divided counſels, and their enterprizes miſcarried accordingly.

But, to return to the Iriſh affairs;—the king being much concerned both at the diſhonour and diſadvantage which he feared might accrue from his renunciation of the peace, ſent over the dean of Tuam with a meſſage to the lord lieutenant, informing that nobleman of his circumſtances, and how reluctantly he had been prevailed upon to take this ſtep, at the ſame time intimating his majeſty's deſire that the marquis would endeavour to avert the evils which might attend it, by conducting himſelf with all poſſible care in an affair of ſuch extraordinary delicacy: which inſtructions when his lordſhip received, he wrote to the commiſſioners of truſt in the following manner:

AFTER our hearty commendations: having lately received aſſurance that his majeſty hath been induced to declare the peace concluded in this kingdom, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-

forty eight, (by virtue of authority from his late majeſty of ever glorious memory, as alſo of his majeſty now reigning) to be void, and that he is abſolutely freed therefrom; we have thought it neceſſary for the vindication of our own honour, freely to declare unto you, as well what hath paſſed from us to his majeſty, that might give any colour for ſuch a declaration, as what our reſolution is thereupon.

"It is very true, that, from time to time, we endeavoured to give his majeſty, a true account of his affairs committed to our charge in general, and that therein we could not omit informing him of divers affronts put upon his authority, by means whereof, and the diſobediences of the remaining towns (if perſiſted in) we were in deſpair of doing him any conſiderable ſervice, or defending the kingdom from the rebels. But in our diſpatches we were careful that his majeſty ſhould underſtand, that the nobility and greater part of the gentry continued faithful to his majeſty, obedient to his authority, and worthy of his favour and protection.

"Whether any of theſe diſpatches have come to his majeſty's hands, or if they did, whether before or ſince his making his declaration againſt the peace, we know not; but we find his majeſty's declaration, is principally grounded upon the unlawfulneſs of concluding the peace with this nation; and the breaches on the part of the nation are mentioned but in general terms and by the bye, ſo that however the affronts put upon his authority have been many, and obſtinately perſiſted in, to this day, and that in ſuch places whereupon evidently depends the preſervation, or the loſs of the whole kingdom to the rebels: wherefore we have ſeveral times given notice unto you, and

followed the ways adviſed by you for reclaiming the ſaid places, without any ſucceſs;—yet conſidering the declaration gained from his majeſty, is without hearing what could be ſaid by the nation in their own defence, and ſuch as involves it generally without exception in the guilt of rebellion; and that even thoſe that have with the greateſt inſolence invaded the royal authority, and endeavoured to withdraw the people from their allegiance, do yet pretend that they will make their complaint againſt us to his majeſty, thereby implying, that they will ſubmit to his judgement, we thought fit to let you know that, notwithſtanding the ſaid declaration, by ſome undue means obtained from his majeſty, we are reſolved by all means it ſhall pleaſe God to offer to us, and through all hazards, in behalf of this nation, to inſiſt upon and aſſert the lawfulneſs of the concluſion of the peace, by virtue of the aforeſaid authorities, and that the ſaid peace is ſtill valid, of force and binding to his majeſty and all his ſubjects: and herein we are reſolved by the help of God to perſiſt until that we, and ſuch as ſhall in that behalf be intruſted and authoriſed by the nation, ſhall have free and ſafe acceſs to his majeſty, and until upon mature and unreſtrained conſideration of what may on all ſides be ſaid, he ſhall have declared his royal pleaſure upon the aforeſaid affronts put upon his authority; provided always, in the mean time and immediately:

Firſt, That all the acts, declarations, and excommunications, iſſued by the biſhops met at Jameſtown in Auguſt laſt, whereby the people are forbidden to obey us as lord lieutenant, be by them revoked, and ſuch aſſurance as ſhall be agreed on by us and you the commiſſioners authorized by us, in purſuance of the articles of peace

peace given by them, that neither they nor any of them ſhall attempt the like for the future, and, that they ſhall continue themſelves within the bounds preſcribed by the articles of peace, whereunto they are parties.

Secondly, That it be immediately declared by you, that the ſaid declarations, excommunications, and other proceedings of the ſaid biſhops, is an unwarranted uſurpation upon his majeſty's juſt authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and that in caſe they ſhall not give the aſſurance before expreſſed, or having given it, ſhall not obſerve the ſame, that you will endeavour to bring the offenders to condign puniſhment purſuant unto, and as is preſcribed by the laws of the kingdom, as diſturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and obſtructers of the means of preſerving the ſame.

Thirdly, That a like declaration be made by all that derive authority from his majeſty, civil or martial, and by the reſpective mayors, aldermen, common council, burgeſſes, and all other magiſtrates in all the corporations of the kingdom.

Fourthly, That we be admitted to make free and ſafe reſidence in any place, we ſhall chuſe, within the limits not poſſeſſed by the rebels.

Fifthly, That we immediately be admitted to garriſon ſuch places and in ſuch manner, according to the articles of peace as we ſhall find neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

Laſtly, That a preſent courſe be taken for means for our ſupport in proportion, anſwerable to our place (yet with regard to the ſtate of the kingom) which laſt, we ſhould not propoſe but that we are deprived of our private fortune: whereupon we have ſolely ſubſiſted ever ſince we came to the kingdom.—To all which we expect your

your preſent anſwer. And ſo we bid you farewell, and remain, at Enis, the 13th of October 1650.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

To which letter the commiſſioners of truſt returned this anſwer.

" May it pleaſe your Excellency,

" YOUR lordſhips of the twenty-third of this inſtant we have received, and therein, to our inexpreſſible grief, we find that his majeſty has been induced to declare the peace concluded in this kingdom, in the year ſixteen hundred and forty eight, to be void, and that he is abſolved there from, taking for the principal grounds for ſuch his declaration, the unlawfulneſs of the act: And, howbeit we cannot without a very feeling ſenſe of the grief, the nation (with juſt cauſe) may entertain of the prejudice thereby brought upon them, and the blemiſh caſt upon thoſe hearty endeavours of theirs, to reſtore his majeſty to his former eſtate and power over his ſubjects, look upon theſe unexpected fruits of their blood and ſubſtance ſo chearfully ſpent in his ſervice; yet it greatly comforts us to underſtand that, notwithſtanding that declaration by ſome undue means obtained from his majeſty, your excellency is reſolved by all the means that it ſhall pleaſe God to offer unto you, and through all hazards, in behalf of this nation, to inſiſt upon, and aſſert the peace, and to perſiſt in ſo doing until your excellency, and ſuch as ſhall be intruſted and authorized by the nation, ſhall have free and ſafe acceſs unto his majeſty. And, as to thoſe proviſo's which are expreſſed as neceſſary conditions, whereby his majeſty's authority (which notwithſtanding that declaration we ſtill do embrace and reverence) may be continued among us, beſides our general profeſſion to act, what lies in our power in the ways

of

of his majeſty's ſervice, and to your Excellency's ſatisfaction, we do return the following anſwers.

To the firſt proviſo and proceſs concerning the revocation of theſe acts of declaration, and excommunication, iſſued by the biſhops met at Jameſtown, and the aſſurance demanded that nothing in that kind ſhall be attempted for the future; we do humbly anſwer, That your Excellency to whom we have often expreſſed our reſentment of ſuch their proceedings, may be confident we ſhall labour ſo far as in us lies, to ſee your excellency ſatisfied in this particular; and to that end we will, all or ſome of us, with your excellency's allowance, and as you ſhall think fit, repair to Galway to treat with the prelates upon this ſubject.

To the Second, We humby return as anſwer, That albeit, we know that by thoſe cenſures of the biſhops met at Jameſtown, his majeſty's authority was invaded, and an unwarranted government ſet up, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that we are aſſured no ſubject could be warranted by that excommunication to deny obedience to his majeſty's authority in your excellency; yet, being of opinion that a public declaration of this kind, in this conjucture of affairs ought properly and would with more countenance and authority, move from an aſſembly than from us; and that by ſuch a public declaration now from us, we ſhould wholly obſtruct the way to prevail with the prelates to withdraw thoſe cenſures, or act what is deſired by the former proviſo, and likewiſe endanger what union there is at preſent in oppoſing the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a more perfect union for the future, wherein the preſervation of the nation doth principally conſiſt.—We do therefore humbly beſeech your excellency, to call upon an aſſembly of the nation, from whom ſuch a declaration

claration as may be effectual in this behalf, and may ſettle thoſe diſtractions, can only proceed. Yet if, in the mean time, and before the meeting of that aſſembly, thoſe cenſures now ſuſpended [*as they were at that time*] ſhall be revived, we will endeavour to ſuppreſs their influence upon the people by ſuch a declaration as ſhall become loyal ſubjects, and men intereſted to ſee all due obedience paid to his majeſty's government over this kingdom.

To the Third, We do humbly return as anſwer, That we ſhall, at all times, and in ſuch manner as your exeellency ſhall think fit to preſcribe, invite all or any of his majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects to ſuch a declaration; which yet, until we ſhall underſtand the clergy's ſenſe upon the firſt proviſo, we do humbly repreſent as fit, for a time, to be forborne.

To the Fourth, We humbly return as anſwer, that whatſoever your excellency ſhall find to be properly within our power, and will direct to be done for procuring a free reſidence for your perſon, in any place you ſhall chuſe, within the limits not poſſeſſed by the rebels, we ſhall readily obey your lordſhip's commands therein.

To the Fifth, We humbly return as anſwer, That upon debate with your excellency of the places fit to be garriſoned, and the number of men fit to be received thereunto, we ſhall, according to the articles of peace, uſe our utmoſt endeavours to have ſuch garriſon ſo agreed upon admitted.

To the laſt, We humbly return as anſwer, that as we have at all times heretofore been ready and willing your excellency's charge ſhould be ſupported out of the revenue of the kingdom, ſo we are now very ready to concur in aſſigning any of the dues already accrued, or ſuch as ſhall grow due

due hereafter, or to impoſe a new applotment upon the ſubject towards your excellency's maintenance,

Thus humbly taking leave, we remain,

Your excellency's moſt humble ſervants,

Athunry, Lucas Dillon, Richard Belling, Jeff. Browne, } { N. Plunket, R. Barnewall, R. Everard, Gerrard Fennel,

In conſequence of this anſwer the lord lieutenant called a general aſſembly, to meet at Loghreagh, on the fifteenth day of November; and, in the mean time, gave his conſent that ſome of the commiſſioners of truſt ſhould repair to Galway, to treat with the committee of the congregation, to whom accordingly there reſorted Sir Richard Barnewall, Sir Richard Everard, Mr. Brown, and Dr. Fennel, who propoſed:

Firſt, the letter of the lord lieutenant, ſent to them from Enis, as above recited.

Secondly, They ſhewed the king's declaration concerning the covenant and his renunciation of the peace, and made them acquainted with the ill condition of the kingdom, as in relation to the the king's party engaged in the covenant, and in relation to the Independants, urging that on the whole, the only apparent ſafety of the nation was in a peace.

Thirdly, They demanded of the committe what THEY conceived would moſt conduce to the preſervation of the kingdom and themſelves?

Fourthly, They obſerved, That an union could not be had or kept for the preſervation of the nation, without keeping the king's authority among them; for that many, even conſiderable men, would inſtantly make their conditions with the enemy, the king's authority being taken away, and

and that there were no hopes of having that authority left, but by revoking the excommunication and declaration, for it would not be left by the lord lieutenant, nor taken up by Clanrickard, except upon thoſe terms.

Which propoſals being laid before the committee, they gave ſuch an anſwer as at once explained the true motives of the former conduct of their nation, and gave a clear inſight into their intentions for the future. They firſt ſeverely animadverted on the king's renunciation of the peace and his profeſſed adherence to the covenant. They ſaid, "That his majeſty having declared he would have no friends but ſuch as were friends to that covenant, if the lord lieutenant *were not* ſuch, they conceived his authority to be virtually withdrawn, and if he *were*, he could be no friend to them." They, obſerved, "That being caſt out of his majeſty's protection, as bloody rebels, they could not expect him to govern or protect them, that his authority in the lord lieutenancy was extinct, and that *they* had no power to revive it.—That whereas it had been obſerved, the king's authority being taken away, many conſiderable perſons would ſubmit to the parliament, the way to prevent ſuch an evil was, in their opinion, again to reſort to their old confederacy, and that it was not at all proper, as things were circumſtanced, to revoke the declaration and excommunication iſſued againſt the lord lieutenant and his adherents, the profeſſion of the former being to maintain the proteſtant religion, according to the uſage of the beſt reformed churches, which for ought they knew might be the ſame in ſum and ſubſtance with the ſolemn oath and covenant that his majeſty had ſo lately approved." Then they went on to obſerve, That it would

ſcandaliſe

ſcandaliſe them over all the world ſtill to continue their obedience to a proteſtant viceroy and eſpecially at Rome, where his holineſs had obtained them a promiſe that they ſhould have a catholic governor, though that promiſe was never fulfilled.——That beſides all this, The ill ſucceſs and ill conduct of Ormond was ſuch, that the ſoldiers had no heart to fight under his banners, and that the people in general feared to be loſt under his government: and that the two conſiderable corporations remaining were at great variance with his excellency for granting commiſſions to take away their goods, and for other reaſons, though they would agree with and obey any other perſon that ſhould be veſted with the king's authority."—They urged alſo, "That vaſt ſums of money had been expended without any account being rendered of them, and that if the event of this hitherto ſucceſsleſs war ſhould at laſt turn out againſt them, Ormond not being a catholic himſelf, could not be a proper perſon to make terms with the enemy, for the exerciſe of *their* religion, churches, or altars, or any thing concerning the ſame. —And in concluſion, they adviſed, That the marquis of Clanrickard, upon whom the eyes of the nation were at this time turned, ſhould be inveſted with his majeſty's authority, and govern them with the conſent of all parties, to whom, in ſuch caſe, they promiſed all manner of obedience, counſel, and aſſiſtance, as became loyal ſubjects, to the end of their lives."

There are many things contained in this paper which refuted themſelves; but ſome which particularly related to Ormond that nobleman animadverted upon, and amongſt many others he obſerved upon that diſobedience and want of unanimity which occaſioned ſeveral places falling into

to the hands of the enemy, the loſs of which they reproached him with.—He ſaid, " that as to his declaration concerning religion, it ought to have been objected to, when he made it, that he did not hold himſelf accountable for his opinions; but that whatever his ſentiments were concerning the covenant, or other matters, he had always endeavoured to ſhew his adherence to the articles of that peace which the Iriſh themſelves had ratified, and always ſhould have done ſo, had he not been interrupted and affronted by the catholic biſhops and their inſtruments."—He profeſſed himſelf ignorant of any promiſe made of ſending them a catholic lord lieutenant, nor did he believe that charge true, though it was notorious enough that they had petitioned for one, and, he complained much that they had not long before expreſſed their general diſlike of him as a proteſtant lord lieutenant, rather than thus to load him with ſcandal and abuſe, and ſend him away blaſted in his reputation and honour, by this their public declaration. Then he proceeded to enumerate the affronts thrown on him by, and the illegal proceedings of the two corporations which they complained he had injured, ſome of which we have already recited, and the others are of a ſimilar nature;—ſuch as the confinement of the lord viſcount Kilmalloc, an Iriſh peer, who was put under reſtraint at Limerick, while the lord lieutenant was on the ſpot, merely for having in time of war by the general's order quartered ſome few horſe in the liberties of the city. His lordſhip complained likewiſe of the breaking open his trunks, filled with his private papers, (which he had ſent before him into the city) after admiſſion had been refuſed, and of the inſolence of the mayor in refuſing to ſend Murtogh O'Brian priſoner, to anſwer for having driven away the cattle

cattle of the inhabitants of the county of Clare; for which diſobedience his lordſhip owned he had given orders to ſeize upon the cattle of the city, till ſome ſatisfactory anſwer ſhould be made, which however he never could obtain, the mayor referring him to Hugh O'Neal, as governor, and O'Neal anſwering, That he was but a cypher, and that the mayor did juſt as he pleaſed in Limerick.—He alſo took notice of an affront put upon himſelf and his majeſty's authority in his perſon by the captain of the guards, called the captain of the young men of Gallway, making ſearch for him as for a criminal in that town, where an excommunication had been publiſhed againſt him the king's lieutenant, and all ſuch as ſhould adhere to him, or ſtick to the terms of the lately concluded peace. As to the articles of making terms for them, the marquis acknowledged himſelf not a fit perſon in any event of war to agree with the enemy for the people committed to his government without licence from his majeſty, and concluded with obſerving upon their frequent practice of what he called, "giving to and taking away government from the people at their pleaſure;" the higheſt prerogative exerciſed by kings, and ſtates.——"And if (ſays he) they can no otherwiſe than by aſſuming this power endeavour to defend the altars and ſouls truſted to them, the world hath long wanted the example given by them, and the apoſtles and primitive biſhops and fathers of the church have been wanting in example and precept."—

It is eaſy to conceive after what had paſſed, that little elſe remained for Ormond to do than to think of quitting the country, as, from the temper of the principal perſons, he had little to expect from any general aſſembly of the Iriſh

nation;—he had now twice tried them, and at length found it highly neceſſary to leave a people whom he could neither govern to his honour, or their own advantage. He therefore prepared to embark, and having ſhipped his goods and ſervants, wrote to them from Kilcoigan. But as ſoon as the general aſſembly found that he was about to depart without having conſtituted a deputy in his room, they ſent the lords Clanrickard and Dillon to diſſuade him from taking ſuch a ſtep, and to aſſure him of their loyalty to the king, and their deſire of having ſome perſon inveſted with his authority placed over them, to whom they might ſubmit themſelves, and from whom they might hope for protection.

And by theſe two lords the aſſembly ſent the following declaration, which bore date at Loghreagh, the ſeventeenth day of December, in the year ſixteen hundred and fifty.

WHEREAS the archbiſhops and biſhops met at this aſſembly have of their own free accord, for removing of jealouſies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and proteſted, That by their excommunication and declaration at Jameſtown in Auguſt laſt, they had no other aim than the preſervation of the catholic religion and people, and did not propoſe to make any uſurpation on his majeſty's authority, or on the liberties of the people, confeſſing it belongs not to their juriſdiction, of which their declaration and proteſtation, and their profeſſions to that purpoſe in this aſſembly, and of his excellency's letter, dated the ſixteenth day of November laſt, recommending unto us as the chief end for which that aſſembly was called, the removing of all diviſions as the beſt way for our preſervation.

preſervation: We, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and gentry, met in this aſſembly, conceiving that there is no better foundation and ground for our union than the holding to and obeying his majeſty's authority, to which we owe and ought to pay all dutiful obedience, do hereby declare and proteſt, That our allegiance to his majeſty is ſo inherent in us, that we cannot be withdrawn from the ſame; nor is there any power or authority in the lords ſpiritual or temporal, gentry, or people, clergy or laity of the kingdom that can alter, change or take away his majeſty's authority, we holding that to be the chief flower of the crown, and the ſupport of the people's liberty; which we hereby proteſt, declare, and avow, and alſo do eſteem the ſame eſſentially, inviolably, and juſtly due from us, and the chiefeſt means (under God) to uphold our union and preſervation.——And we do unanimouſly beſeech his excellency, in his great affections to the advancement of his majeſty's ſervice, and his hearty deſires of the nation's preſervation, to which he hath relation of higheſt concernments, in blood, alliance and intereſt, to leave that authority with us, in ſome perſon faithful to his majeſty, and acceptable to the nation.—To which perſon, when made known unto us, we will not only afford all due obedience, but will alſo offer and propoſe the beſt ways and means that God will pleaſe to direct us to, for the preſervation of his majeſty's rights, and the people's intereſts and liberties, and for begetting ready obedience in all places and perſons to his majeſty's authority. And we do further declare, That albeit Drogheda [Tredagh] and all other places which were upon concluſion of the peace, the ninth of January ſixteen hundred and forty-eight in the enemy's power in this kingdom (the cities of

Londonderry and Dublin only excepted) were in his excellency's time of government and conduct through many hazards in his perſon, and loſs in his fortune, reduced to his majeſty's obedience, and yet God was pleaſed to bring us to the ſtate and condition we are in at preſent.—Yet we are fully ſatisfied that his excellency hath faithful intentions, and hearty affections to advance his majeſty's intereſts and ſervice in this kingdom.

Loghreagh, Dec. 7, 1650. By command of the aſſembly, RICHARD BLAKE.

On this, the marquis of Ormond ſent them word he had ſent a deputation to the marquis of Clanrickard to govern the kingdom, provided their declaration might give that nobleman ſatiſfaction that the obedience to his majeſty's authority, which they profeſſed was meant, "The authority placed in his lordſhip, or any other governor deriving or holding ſuch authority from his majeſty, and that they did not eſteem it in the power of any perſon, congregation, or aſſembly whatever to diſcharge or ſet the people free from obeying his lordſhip, or any other ſuch governor, during the continuation of the ſaid authority in him." Having charged the lord Clanrickard not to accept the government on any other terms, and taken all ſteps neceſſary for the proſecution of his voyage in ſafety, Ormond embarked for France, in a veſſel of twenty-eight tons burden, in the month of December. He was accompanied by the lord of Inchiquin, the colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Warren, and about twenty other perſons who choſe to follow his fortune; but refuſed a paſs which one of his friends had obtained from Ireton, as diſdaining the favour of a rebel, and willing, to the laſt, to approve

approve himſelf a dutiful ſubject to his royal maſter.

If we obſerve Ormond's conduct with a critical nicety, we ſhall find him in ſome meaſure to have reſembled his late ſovereign, the Firſt Charles in his ſteady adherence to the eſtabliſhed religion of the church of England; but like him too he lived at a period when ſome conceſſions were neceſſary to thoſe who adopted other modes of faith and worſhip. In this point of view we find him ſtanding out, and, as it were, diſputing every inch of ground with the catholics of Ireland, much in the ſame manner as the king did with the Puritans of England, which zeal in both cauſed both to be ſucceſsleſs, and indeed, in ſpite of all Ormond's loyalty, occaſioned him and his ſovereign in a great meaſure to counteract each other. — For Charles being moſt afraid of the encroachments of the puritans, of which he had daily inſtances before his eyes, and finding them alike endeavouring to overthrow his religion and his government, was certainly in his heart rather inclined to grant conceſſions to the catholics than to them; whilſt on the other hand, Ormond being moſt afraid of the power of the confederates, which he thought if not timely checked would both overthrow Proteſtantiſm and bid fair to render that nation independant of England, and being a witneſs to all their follies and enormities, was rather inclined to favour any party of proteſtants than them, till the period of his royal maſter's death had rendered the ſectaries more odious to him than any people upon earth.——Theſe obſervations may account for the conduct of the marquis, who was ſometimes in treaty with one party, and ſometimes with the other, and may alſo give the reader a juſt conception of the reaſons why he was ſo much hated

by the catholics, who knowing his inbred diſlike of their religion, and having experienced his unwillingneſs, even to comply with his majeſty's intimations in ſome points that might have proved more favourable to their intereſts, and his expreſs deſire that he might not receive any commands in regard to others of a like nature, placed but little confidence in him, always aſſerting that they could never certainly know his majeſty's pleaſure as to them or their affairs whilſt Ormond was charged with the government;—but to do that nobleman juſtice, it muſt be owned matters were ſo circumſtanced during his adminiſtration in Ireland, that the wiſeſt viceroy in his ſituation would have been puzzled in adopting a plan of government, and the moſt juſt muſt ſometimes have ſwerved from thoſe ſtrict rules of conduct, which in other caſes he might and ought to have adopted. We have already obſerved that if either larger conceſſions (within the bounds of reaſon and moderation) had at firſt been granted to the confederates, or otherwiſe ſome certain *data* had been fairly and ſincerely laid down, from which the king and his lieutenant would not have receded, Charles's unhappy fate might have been prevented, and the affairs of Ireland might have been managed with greater honour and advantage; but it was not to be expected that all things ſhould be well ordered in ſuch times of confuſion; and beſides the zeal of Ormond led him in the beginning to diſapprove meaſures, which even he in the end would have followed; for as whatever party he ſeemed to favour, he had the good of his king and country always neareſt his heart, ſo we find him after his retreat from Ireland delivering it as his opinion, that, to effect any purpoſes tending that way, the aid of any catholic princes, even of the pope himſelf, (whom from his

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his principles, this nobleman muſt have had the greateſt diſlike to) was both lawful and expedient for the Iriſh to ſolicit in the miſerable condition to which that people were at laſt reduced.——And, moreover, whatever objections he might have to any articles in the treaty of peace with the catholics, yet he really was not the firſt to infringe them after that peace was concluded, whereas the confederates on their part were for ever diſputing and changing, always wanting ſomething to be altered, added, or omitted, and even returning to open hoſtilities when ſuch unreaſonable requeſts were denied them. Theſe infringements were indeed generally the work of the clergy; but from whomſoever they came, while they were ſupported by remonſtrances, and backed by powerful armies, the lord lieutenant muſt certainly be perplexed and alarmed by them. Such proceedings as theſe made him put no confidence in the public faith of the nation, and the diſtruſts and jealouſies they raiſed, led him to take ſteps that were diſagreeable to many, perhaps only for the faults of a few; but while thoſe few were authoriſed to obtrude their ſenſe upon him as that of the public, his behaviour in ſuch circumſtances might not only be excuſed but juſtified.—On the whole, the marquis of Ormond (notwithſtanding ſome pieces of miſconduct, which are obvious enough) appears to have been a good ſubject and a good man, a firm friend to ſuch as did him ſervice, and an upright governor over thoſe who ſubmitted to a juſt and legal authority.

Ulick, marquis of Clanrickard, and earl of St. Albans being conſtituted lord deputy, according to the inſtructions left him by his principal, refuſed to take the government upon him, when ſolicited by the aſſembly ſo to do, unleſs they

ſatisfied the proviſo mentioned in the lord lieutenant's letter to them, and unleſs he had all manner of aſſurances of their being ſo well united among themſelves as that there might be juſt grounds to expect that they might ſupport the king's intereſt and their own, and not put any affronts upon his authority. On this they again petitioned him to accept the rank conferred on him, and for his farther ſatisfaction this aſſembly paſſed an act to the following purport:

"ALTHOUGH this Aſſembly has endeavoured by the declaration of the ſeventh day of this month (December) to give full teſtimony of obedience to his majeſty's authority; yet, for farther ſatisfaction, and for the removal of all jealouſies, We do farther declare, That the lords ſpiritual and temporal, gentry, or people, clergy or laity of this kingdom ſhall not attempt, labour, endeavour, or do any act or acts, to ſet free or diſcharge the people from yielding due and perfect obedience to his majeſty's authority inveſted in the lord marquis of Clanrickard, or any other governor or governors of this kingdom. And, in caſe of any ſuch labour, act or endeavour by which any miſchief might enſue by ſeducing the people, we declare that no perſon or perſons ſhall or ought to be led thereby; but by their diſobedience on any ſuch grounds are liable and ſubject to the heavy cenſures and penalties of the laws of the land, in force, and practiſed in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and other catholic princes. Nevertheleſs, it is farther declared, That it is not meant nor intended by any thing herein contained, that this nation will not inſiſt upon the performance of the articles of peace, and by all juſt means provide againſt the violation of the ſame. —— And inaſmuch as his majeſty is at preſent,

preſent, as we are informed, in the power of a Preſbyterian party of the Scots, who declared themſelves enemies to this nation, and vowed the extirpation of our religion, We declare, That it is not hereby intended to oblige ourſelves to obey or obſerve any governor that ſhall come unduly nominated, or procured from his majeſty, by reaſon of, or during his being in an unfree condition, that may raiſe diſturbance of the preſent government, eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's authority, or redound to the violation of the articles of peace."

And afterwards they voted that by the word OUGHT expreſſed in this declaration it was not meant or intended to look back, or to have a retroſpect into any *former* proceedings of the clergy.——

And now was Clanrickard eſtabliſhed in the government of Ireland, where he might well have hoped (as they were of his own country and religion) to have found himſelf at the head of a faithful and a reſolute people; but alas! even under his adminiſtration, jealouſies, and diſſentions were continued on the part of the confederates, while the parliamentarians were every where ſucceſsful; Tecroghan, Harriſtown, Naas, Ballymore, Ballymallock, Rabridge, Tullo, Athy, Maryburgh, and Caſtle Dermod were ſurrendered to Reynolds, and Hewſon, and Carlow was given up to Sir Hardreſs Waller. A. D. 1650.

General Preſton (lord viſcount Tara) was at that time governor of Waterford, before which Ireton came with his army, whereupon the general ſent to deſire the lord lieutenant to furniſh him with certain ſupplies or leave to ſurrender the city, and the marquis not being able to ſend thoſe ſupplies,

plies, the place was ſurrendered by treaty on the tenth day of Auguſt; and four days afterwards Dungannon was alſo delivered into the hands of the rebels.

While theſe things were paſſing, the marquis of Antrim, who is ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence with Cromwell, even from his firſt landing in Ireland, in May this year had met commiſſary general Reynolds, and the biſhop of Clogher, and afterwards that biſhop and colonel Owen, with whom he held long conferences, and in the courſe of them endeavoured to prove that he (Antrim) was joined with Ormond in a commiſſion from the late king to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, at the beginning of the Iriſh rebellion;—but there are ſo many inconſiſtencies in his aſſertions that they do not deſerve here to be either recited or refuted. However, his proceedings gained him ſo much credit with the parliament party, then in Ireland, and eſpecially with Ireton, that the latter furniſhed him with a paſs to go over into England, together with a letter from him to the council of ſtate, importing, "That the ſaid marquis of Antrim had done the parliament's army ſingular ſervice ſince the firſt day they came before Roſs."—An order being granted his lordſhip to levy money amongſt his tenants for this expeditton, having raiſed the ſum of a thouſand pounds, he ſet ſail for Cheſter, where being arrived, he diſpatched two ſervants to London, to give notice of his arrival, and to procure a coach to be ſent to meet him at Barnet, but when he came there not finding the carriage as he had expected, he held on his way to the earl of Newport's, where he received intelligence from his ſervants, "That he was likely to be but indifferently received by the parliament, and

and that he would therefore do beſt to return to his laſt ſtage, and wait there till farther notice, which he accordingly determined to do, but taking up his lodging at Highgate, the houſe wherein he lay was ſurrounded by conſtables the next morning, and his perſon ſecured; the parliament thanking thoſe fellows for their diligence, and ſending his lordſhip orders to return within two days to Ireland, with which he accordingly complied;---and thus ended this ſilly errand, without his even having been admitted into the preſence of thoſe rebels to whoſe ſervants he had ſo long been parcelling out his honour. Nay, it is generally ſuppoſed that, as he was an Iriſhman, that circumſtance alone (notwithſtanding his ſervices to them) would have been reaſon enough for them to have uſed him worſe, but that Ireton's honour being concerned, they did not chuſe to offend him ſo much, or to make him look ſo mean as to uſe violence againſt any one who was furniſhed with his paſſport and recommendation.

In the mean time, the rebel forces under that commander, and the reſt of the parliament's generals were ſtill advancing. In Ulſter, Sir Charles Coot and Venables, and in Munſter Sir Henry Ingoldſby, carried all before them, the latter routing a body of near four thouſand men that advanced to protect Limerick, which he intended to block up. Ireton's army being refreſhed, half of them were ſent in order to reinforce that blockade, and the city was ſummoned but to no purpoſe, the governor, Hugh O'Neal, deſpiſing the thoughts of ſo premature a ſurrender, and when Ireton himſelf came before that place, perceiving it could never be taken unleſs it were attacked on both ſides of the river, he thought fit

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to draw off his troops into winter quarters, and for the preſent deſiſt from the undertaking.

And now were the Iriſh, from the poſſeſſion of all the walled towns, and places of any conſiderable defence in the kingdom, reduced only to the limits of Connaught and the county of Clare; Gallway, and Limerick, being the only places of any ſtrength or note, that were included properly within their limits; bounded by the Shannon, which ſerved them as a barrier againſt the enemy, and pent up in a corner of their land;—notwithſtanding their junction with the royaliſts, whereby they obtained ſome conſiderable ſupplies of men, arms, and money, and a ſtill greater acquiſition of credit and honour; notwithſtanding the great good, in regard to order and diſcipline, which might neceſſarily have been ſuppoſed to have followed ſuch an union, yet were they reduced to this low ebb, almoſt without a battle; to the ſurpriſe of all Chriſtendom, and even of their enemies themſelves, who ſeemed to ſtand aſtoniſhed at their own victories. But theſe were doubtleſs the fruits of thoſe diſſentions between Proteſtants and Papiſts and even between the different parties of the Papiſts themſelves, which many of that infatuated nation took ſo much care to foment.——It could be to nothing leſs it was owing that ſuch a pile of miſchief was raiſed which ſeemed now ready to overwhelm them, and to bury all that was dear to them in one dreadful ruin. Yet, even at this time we find, by the correſpondence paſſing between the lord deputy, and other great officers, that it was not accounted that there was a deficency of natural ſtrength in number of men ſufficient to make a vigorous attempt for keeping what yet remained, or even regaining what was loſt, had not conduct, diſcipline, and money, the ſinews of war, been wanting.—It was with

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an eye to theſe laſt conſiderations that the duke of Lorrain ſtill continuing his offers of aſſiſtance, and being ſtimulated to enlarge them by the lord Taaf, conſented to ſend the abbot of St. Catharine with ſome ſupplies into Ireland, who landing at Gallway was introduced to the lord Clanrickard, to whom he produced his credentials, aſſuring his excellency of the duke his maſter's diſpoſition to aſſiſt the king of England; this envoy adding, "That he now addreſſed himſelf to his lordſhip, becauſe, as he underſtood his majeſty's power was veſted in him, he was aſſured it would be deemed proper by the duke for him ſo to do."—At the ſame time he informed the lord lieutenant, That the duke had already diſburſed ſix thouſand piſtoles for the immediate ſupplying his majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects with ſuch things as they ſtood immediately in need of, and that he was earneſt to learn what more they would deſire from his highneſs that might enable them to reſiſt the enemy, declaring that he was ready to undertake any thing in reaſon for that purpoſe. Clanrickard's memoirs.

But when a committee of the commiſſioners of truſt, and ſome of the clergy were appointed to examine what terms the duke would conſent to, for lending a ſeaſonable aſſiſtance to preſerve to his majeſty the kingdom of Ireland, it appeared that the ambaſſador's demands were much higher than the lord deputy had expected;—yet the committee were of opinion they ſhould be received; whereupon, after ſome expoſtulation, Clanrickard, who was himſelf but a ſecondary perſon, forbad them to proceed, and expreſſed no ſmall diſpleaſure at what had already paſſed in their aſſembly.

Nevertheleſs,

Nevertheleſs, attending more to the neceſſities of the times than to the abſolute propriety of expedients, they were much offended at ſuch a conduct, and when his excellency, who had refuſed to receive the ambaſſador's parting viſit, was yet prevailed on to renew the treaty with his maſter, they ſtill fearing the governor would ſpoil it, ſeemed willing to puſh matters farther than he intended in this ſecond attempt, which in the ſequel was the ſcource of much uneaſineſs.

And in this ſcheme the prelates were principally concerned, at whoſe head ſtood the biſhop of Fernes, whoſe diſpoſition in regard of this negociation, may beſt be ſeen in his inſtructions to the Iriſh employed upon it, as conceived in the following very zealous letter:

" I do in all ſincerity offer mine own opinion what is to be done by you in this exigency; which is, to the end the agreement you are making with his highneſs the duke of Lorrain become profitable to the nation, and acceptable in the eyes of God, that you would immediately, with humble hearts, make a ſubmiſſion to his holineſs in the name of the nation, and beg the apoſtolical benediction, That the light of wiſdom, the ſpirit of fortitude, victories, grace, ſucceſs, and thoſe bleſſings of God we one time enjoyed may return again to us. The neceſſity of doing this is the greater, that the perſon from whom you come with authority is for ſeveral cauſes excommunicated *a jure & homine*, and is at Rome accounted a great contemner of the authority and dignity of churchmen, and perſecutor of my lord nuncio, and ſome biſhops, and other churchmen; —ſome of his own letters come fair to the proof hereof.—You may pleaſe to call to mind that he though much and often moved thereuuto, never joined

joined the confederate catholics till he found an opportunity of bearing down the pope's nuncio, and had the lord of Inchiquin (who not long before dyed his hands in the blood of prieſts and innocent ſouls in the church or rock of St. Patrick in Caſhell) to cloſe with him in ſociety of arms: The nation hath now no cauſe to joy in the conjunction of thoſe two ſtars.—Do you think God will proſper a contract grounded upon the authority of ſuch a man, (if ſome other way be not found of reconciling him to us?) ——That therefore what is prophane may be holy, and what is rotten, ſound, ſay, in the name of the nation, with the prodigal child, *Surgam, & ibo ad patrem & dicam ei, pater peccavi in cælum & coram te.* And even immediately go to his holineſs's inter-nuntio in this city [Bruſſels] to make this happy ſubmiſſion *quia neſcit tarda molimia ſpiritus ſancti gratia.* This being done, go on chearfully with your contract with this moſt catholic prince, (who, did he rightly know the buſineſs, without ſuch ſubmiſſion, would never enter into a bargain to preſerve, or rather reſtore holy religion in a kingdom with agents, bringing their authority from a withered accurſed hand). And God will ſend his angels of ſtrength and heighth before that people, at leaſt, many of them lying in darkneſs, and ſhackled with the irons of excommunication.---

Such were the beſt ſervices this meddling prelate could do his unhappy countrymen, at this time of general confuſion and diſtreſs, ripping open the wide wounds which party had made, and endeavouring the diſſolution of that little union that ſtill remained amongſt them. By ſuch pernicious councils it was, that thoſe very agents who were diſpatched to treat with the duke in the name of the lord deputy, for the king

his

his maſter, thought fit to leave out that authority, and negociate *in the name of the Iriſh nation*; a circumſtance, that if it had no other evil tendency, (which was far from being the caſe) muſt at leaſt have ſerved to revive old jealouſies, and foment new ones between the catholics and their king and governor.—Not to treat churchmen with too much acrimony, (all of them in general, eſpecially thoſe of the Romiſh communion) let their judgments be never ſo clear, are highly improper to be truſted with temporal negociations, whenever they conceive the intereſts of their church or perſuaſion are in the moſt diſtant manner concerned. And this was the caſe here; for the prelates directly or indirectly had driven the agents upon ſuch meaſures, as, how neceſſary ſoever the Iriſh might deem them, the lord deputy without a poſitive command from another quarter, could by no means, conſiſtently with his honour and loyalty, approve.

As to the terms themſelves which were ſtipulated with the duke, they were in ſubſtance as follows:

An Agreement between Charles the Fourth, duke of Lorain, and Theobald lord viſcount Taaf, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffrey Brown, deputed and authoriſed by the people and kingdom of Ireland.

" I. The moſt illuſtrious duke is to be veſted with royal power, under the title of Protector Royal of Ireland.

" II. Becauſe religion is the prime end and ſubject of the treaty, all is to begin with an imploring application to the pope for his paternal benediction and help, that he will not be wanting in things ſpiritual or temporal; in conſideration whereof it is proteſted, that conſtant, perpetual

perpetual obſequiouſneſs of duty and faithfulneſs ſhall be paid to his holineſs and the apoſtolic ſee.

" III. In conſideration of this Royal Protector's power granted, the duke is by war to proſecute the king's enemies, and afford him all poſſible aſſiſtance.

" IV. The ſaid duke is to do nothing in derogation of the king's authority or juriſdiction in Ireland, but rather to amplify it; and having reſtored the kingdom and religion to their due priſtine eſtate, is to reſign chearfully the kingdom to the king.

" V. Before reſignation as aforeſaid, the duke is to be re-imburſed all by him expended in this buſineſs, and for this re-imburſement a general and exact obedience to the duke in faith and fidelity from the kingdom and people is made, and to be obſerved without reſervation to any other ſuperiority whatever.

" VI. The duke is not to fail, on his part, to expel out of Ireland heretics, enemies to the king and his religion, and to recover and defend all things belonging to the faithful ſubjects of Ireland.

" VII. The duke is ſolely and abſolutely to exerciſe all military power for the preſent and future in Ireland, as to the nomination of all commanders, and guiding all martial proceedings at his own pleaſure and in his own perſon, unleſs he, in his abſence, ſubſtitute ſome other catholic perſon.

" VIII. The duke is to introduce no innovation in the towns, &c. to him aſſigned, repugnant to the ſecurities, privileges, immunities, proprieties, lands, eſtates, or ancient laws of the Iriſh, reſerving only to himſelf authority to apply reme-

dies to any thing accruing, wherein public prejudice may be contained.

" IX. The duke is not to interpoſe in adminiſtration of judicial or civil affairs, but leave them to be proceeded in, according to the fundamental laws and public form, of the king's chief governor, and the aſſembly inſtituted.

" X. The manner of calling aſſemblies to be as formerly, unleſs complaint ariſe againſt the government, or other extraordinary emergencies hinder; and then, according to the ancient laws, the cutting off the aſſembly is to be at the pleaſure of his highneſs.

" XI. When the work is done in Ireland, by conſent of a general aſſembly, the duke promiſes to afford aſſiſtance to the king againſt rebelling adverſaries in other kingdoms.

" XII. In caſe the duke cannot go in perſon into Ireland, it is free in his choice and pleaſure to depute any other man of catholic piety, who ſhall be independant in the militia, and in civil matters ſhall be received to all manner of councils, in the ſame right as any other counſellor or commiſſioner.

" XIII. All cities, caſtles, lands taken from the Engliſh ſhall revert to the owners, if catholics, who have conſtantly perſevered in the catholic quarters under the duke, yet the duke's military power, ſhall be entire over the ſame, to garriſon and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure.

" XIV. All pay to the ſoldiers is to paſs from the duke, as well out of the public revenue as the duke's coffers; when that fails, provided that the duke's diſburſements of his proper money for public uſes, for the future to be repaid him as former diſburſements.

" XV. All goods of enemies and delinquents are to be converted to the public military charges, and

and towards rewarding great merits, by the duke, with the advice of the general aſſembly.

" XVI. The duke, beſides 20,000 l. already diſtributed, promiſes all farther accommodations and ſupplements for war, together with his power and induſtry what is not above the reach of his faculties, and beneath the neceſſities of the war, towards the repayment whereof, as well principal as the annual provenue and uſe thereof, the whole nation of Ireland is to be liable, until the laſt penny be paid; and for caution, in the mean time, the duke is to be ſeiſed and poſſeſſed in his own hands of Galway, Limerick, Athenry, the caſtle and town of Athlone and Waterford, and the royal fort of Dungannon, (when recovered from the enemy) and theſe are to remain to him and his heirs until full and intire ſatisfaction received, and to pay juſt obedience, and be garriſoned and commanded at his pleaſure.

" XVII. In laying of public taxes, and levying the ſame for the duke's ſatisfaction, the duke to proceed by advice of the general aſſembly, and all aggrieved parties, in caſe of inequality, to ſeek redreſs from the general aſſembly.

" XVIII. For liquidating and ſtating the duke's diſburſements, a certain method ſhall be agreed on between the duke and the ſaid tranſactors, but for the perſons to be intruſted in that charge, the general aſſembly is to alter them at their pleaſure.

" XIX. The duke ſhall make no peace nor ceſſation without the lord deputy, or general aſſembly.

" XX. The lord deputy and general aſſembly ſhall make no peace without the conſent of the duke.

Signed,

CHARLES of LORRAIN."

July 12, 1651.

"And here (says Cox) the secret and intrigue of the articles lay where one would have least suspected it, viz. in the second article; for though it seemed to be only matter of respect and compliment to the pope, yet it was the most effectual article of all, and served the duke to these two purposes; first, to oblige the bishop of Fernes, and such other giddy and restless zealots who were favourites of the court of Rome; and secondly, to delay the treaty till this previous article should be first performed; and accordingly the duke of Lorrain, the bishop of Fernes, lord Taaf, Sir James Preston, and Sir Nicholas Plunkett, signed a formal submission to the pope, in the name of the kingdom of Ireland, and therein supplicated his absolution from the censures and excommunication of the nuncio."

Without animadverting in this place on the penetration of the above historian, in regard to the matter, it requires no uncommon share of sagacity to perceive that such an article as this was highly improper to be admitted at that time in a public instrument which in any way regarded his majesty or his ministers, and as to the drawing out such an one without mentioning him or them, *that* was still more exceptionable. Besides all this, one would have thought the confederates had enough of popes, at least of nuncio's, having already seen the ruin of a prince whom they professed to respect, recently hastened by one who bore the latter character, and their own affairs thrown into so much confusion by the same means, that they were obliged to order him to leave the kingdom. However this was not yet enough, they were still earnest that the treaty should proceed their own way, and were much comforted when the duke of Lorrain sent them the following letters:

"To

" To the Marquis of Clanrickard.

" Sir,

" THE ſtay which the gentleman (abbot of St. Catharine) made with you, and his long navigation by the northern ſea, having brought much delay as well to his return, as to the diſpoſal of affairs here, I could not ſooner diſpatch unto you by this galliot, by which Mr. Plunket and Mr. Brown (your deputies) have in charge more at large, to give you to underſtand the concluſion of the treaty I have with them, to the greateſt advantage that one could deſire for the good of the catholic religion, the ſervice of the king and re-eſtabliſhment of the kingdom; which are the only ends that I have propoſed unto myſelf; moreover, the ſatisfaction which the queen and duke of York, have ſhewn unto me, ſhall, as I hope, be followed by that of all good people, the fidelity of whom hath hitherto appeared without reproach, in a time when it ſeems they had no other reſource but to themſelves; I believe they will continue to make it good, being (as they are) invited thereunto by the part, which I have taken in their preſervation, preferring it to that of my own dominions, and to the urgent neceſſities of my affairs touching which, and the aſſiſtance which I am with all care and diligence poſſible preparing: I beſeech you to make known to the good and faithful ſubjects of the kingdom; and in your own particular, to take all aſſurance of the eſteem, which I make of your perſon, and the deſire which remains with me on all occaſions to acknowledge its merit, when I may make myſelf known, Sir,

Your affectionate friend, to ſerve you,

From Bruſſells,
Sep. 10, 1651. CHARLES LORRAIN."

And to the Town of Galway he alſo diſpatched the following.

" To the Mayor, Council and Corporation of Galway.

" Honoured Sirs,

" Of the agreement made between me and the agents of that kingdom, I leave to them to inform you more particularly, of which they have taken the charge, I do not think that they will omit, how unchangeable and conſtant I am: notwithſtanding the ill rumours of your affairs, and the great and urgent neceſſity of my own, I choſe to prefer your good before all private and public occaſions of my own; as well as I confide that you, to the uttermoſt will remain conſtant to your intent to defend religion and country; to a high great hope of your fortitude, bear in mind that the ſucceſs of the enemies, is hitherto permitted by the providence of God, to the end to reſerve the chief glory of vindicating the kingdom and religion to you, and the Lymerickians, as they have performed their part moſt nobly, I doubt not but when the occaſion of promoting the cauſe is offered, you alſo will perform and ſhew the like examples of conſtancy with happy emulation. In the mean time, leſt the delay of ſupply which proceeded of the ſlow return of the Abbot of St. Catharine, ſhould put you in any doubt of my mind, while with all care and diligence to provide and ſend thoſe ſupplies; I thought fit to haſten the ſending thither of this bark, by which I might aſſure your hope of me, and ſo my hope of you.

Moſt worthy people,

Bruſſels, Your moſt affectionate,

Sept. 10, 1651. CHARLES LORRAIN."

But

But however pleaſed the Iriſh might be with theſe flattering proſpects and addreſſes, yet the lord deputy thought fit to return no other than the ſubſequent anſwer to them.

" May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

" I had the honour on the 12th of this inſtant, to receive a letter from your highneſs dated the 10th of September, wherein you are pleaſed to expreſs your great zeal for the advancement of the catholic religion in this kingdom, your great affection to the king my maſter, and your good opinion of this nation, and your compaſſion for their ſufferings, and your great readineſs to afford them aid and aſſiſtance even equal with your own neareſt concernments; and that your highneſs received ſo great ſatisfaction from the queen and duke of York, as did much ſtrengthen thoſe reſolutions, ſo as they might ſooner appear, but for the ſtay made here of Monſieur St. Catharine, and his long northern voyage upon his return; and referred what concerned the agreement to the relation of thoſe commiſſioners, I had employed to your highneſs to treat upon that ſubject, of aſſiſtance and relief for this kingdom.—I with much alacrity, congratulate your highneſs's pious intentions, for the preſervation of the catholic religion, your great and princely care to recover his majeſty's rights and intereſts, from his rebellious ſubjects of England, and the high obligation you have put upon this nation, by your tender regard of them, and deſire to redeem them from the great miſeries and afflictions they have endured, and the imminent dangers they are in: And it ſhall be a principal part of my ambition, to be an uſeful inſtrument to ſerve your highneſs, in ſo famous

mous and glorious an enterprize. And that I may be the more capable to contribute ſomewhat to ſo religious and juſt ends: Firſt, in diſcharge of my conſcience towards God, my duty to the king my maſter, and to diſabuſe your highneſs, and give a clear and perfect information ſo far as comes to my knowledge, I am obliged to repreſent unto your highneſs, that by the title of the agreement and the articles therein contained, made by thoſe commiſſioners employed to your highneſs, and but lately come into my hands, they have violated the truſt repoſed in them, by having caſt off and declined the commiſſion and inſtructions they had from me, in the king my maſter's behalf, and all other powers that could by any other means be derived from him, and pretended to make an agreement with your highneſs, *in the name of the kingdom and people of Ireland*, for which they had not, nor could have any warrantable authority; and have abuſed your highneſs by a counterfeit ſhew of a private inſtrument, fraudulently procured and ſigned, (as I am informed,) by ſome inconſiderable and factious perſons, ill affected to his majeſty's authority, without any knowledge or conſent of the generality of the nation, or perſons of the greateſt quality or intereſt therein, and who under a ſeeming zeal and pretence of ſervice to your highneſs, labour more to ſatisfy their private ambition than the advantage of the religion or the nation, or the proſperous ſucceſs of your highneſs's generous undertakings: and to manifeſt the clearneſs of mine own proceedings, and make ſuch deceitful practices more apparent, I ſend your highneſs herewith an authentic copy of my inſtructions, which accompanied their commiſſion when I employed them to your highneſs,

neſs, as a ſufficient evidence to convince them. And having thus fully manifeſted their breach of public truſt, I am obliged in the king my maſter's name, to proteſt againſt their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all the agreements and acts whatſoever, concluded by thoſe commiſſioners to be void and illegal, being not derived from, or conſonant to his majeſty's authority. Being in duty bound, thus far to vindicate the king my maſter's honour and authority, and to preſerve his juſt and undoubted rights from ſuch deceitful and rebellious practices; as likewiſe with an humble and reſpective care to prevent thoſe prejudices that might befal your highneſs, in being deluded by counterfeit ſhews in doing you greater honour, where it is apparent that any undertaking laid upon ſuch falſe and ill-grounded principles, as have been ſmoothly digeſted and fixed upon that nation, as their deſire and requeſt muſt overthrow all thoſe heroic and prince-like acts, your highneſs hath propoſed to yourſelf for God's glory and ſervice, the reſtoration of oppreſſed majeſty and the relief of this diſtreſſed kingdom, which would at length fall into inteſtine broils and diviſions, if not forcibly driven into deſperation, I ſhall now with a hopeful and chearful importunity, upon a clear ſcore, free from thoſe deceits, propoſe to your highneſs, that, for advancement of all thoſe great ends you aim at, and in the king my maſter's behalf, and in the name of the loyal catholic ſubjects in this nation, and for the preſervation of thoſe important cautionary places, that are ſecurity for your highneſs's paſt and preſent diſburſements, you will be pleaſed to quicken and haſten thoſe aids and aſſiſtances, you intended for the relief of Ireland; and I have with my whole power and through the greateſt hazards, ſtriven

to

to defend them for you, and to preſerve all other ports that may be at all times of advantage and ſafeguard to your fleets and men of war, having yet many good harbours left; and alſo engage in the king my maſter's name, for whatſoever may prove to your ſatisfaction, that is any way conſiſtent with his honour and authority, and have made my application to the queen's majeſty, and my lord lieutenant (the king being in Scotland) farther to agree, confirm, and ſecure whatſoever may be of advantage to your highneſs; and if the laſt galliot had but brought ten thouſand pounds for this inſtant time, it would have contributed more to the recovery of this kingdom, than far greater ſums delayed, by enabling our forces to meet together for the relief of Limerick, which cannot but be in great diſtreſs after ſo long a ſiege, and which if loſt (although I ſhall endeavour to prevent it) will coſt much treaſure to be regained.

And if your highneſs will be pleaſed to go on chearfully, freely, and ſeaſonably with this great work, I make no queſtion but God will give ſo great a bleſſing thereto, as that myſelf and all the loyal ſubjects of this kingdom may ſoon and juſtly proclaim and leave recorded to poſterity that your highneſs was the great and glorious reſtorer of our religion, monarch and nation. And that your highneſs may not be diſcouraged, or diverted from this generous enterpriſe by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a neceſſary duty in me to repreſent unto your highneſs, that the biſhop of Fernes (who as I am informed, hath gained ſome intereſt in your favour) is a perſon that hath ever been violent againſt, and malicious to his majeſty's authority and government, and a fatal inſtrument in contriving and fomenting all theſe diviſions

diviſions and differences that have rent aſunder this kingdom, the introduction to our preſent miſeries and weak condition. And that your highneſs may clearly know his diſpoſition, I ſend herewithal a copy of part of a letter written by him, * directed to the lord Taaf, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffrey Brown, and humbly ſubmit it to your judgement whether thoſe expreſſions be agreeable to the temper of the apoſtolical ſpirit, and conſidering whoſe perſon and authority I repreſent, what ought to be the reward of ſuch a crime. I muſt therefore deſire your highneſs, in the king my maſter's behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intruſted in any affairs that have relation to his majeſty's intereſt in this kingdom, where I have conſtantly endeavoured by all poſſible ſervice to deſerve your highneſs's good opinion, and obtaining the favour to be a moſt faithful acknowledger of it in the capacity and under the title of,

Your Highneſs's

Athenry, Moſt humble and obliged ſervant,

Oct. 20, 1651. CLANRICKARD.

From the tenor and ſpirit of this addreſs it is eaſy to ſee that the negociation was begun under ill auſpices; or, to ſpeak more plainly, that the different parties concerned in it had ſuch diſtinct and ſeparate ends in view as rendered it not likely to come to any thing; but the Iriſh (to uſe their own expreſſion) being now ready to ſink, were willing to catch at any thing, that had the leaſt appearance of preſerving them; and to do them juſtice it muſt be owned that it is not eaſy to conceive a more deplorable caſe than theirs, who were at this period juſt about to fall into the hands of a moſt mercileſs enemy, whom they

* See it as recited, page 196.

they had at the beginning of this war incenſed almoſt beyond the poſſibility of hoping forgiveneſs.——They had already experienced many bitter fruits of the revenge of theſe fierce adverſaries wherever their arms prevailed, and much more now had they to expect if the laſt barrier of their kingdom, ſhould at length be given up.—Their religion, manner, cuſtoms, properties, eſtates, and lives were now alike in danger, and it was not wonderful that they ſhould wiſh to take every means to ſecure all theſe, though it was indeed amazing that they did not hit upon more effectual ones.

But having allowed ſo much for the Iriſh, it is but fair to obſerve that there were certainly many impediments in the way of this treaty, which, however they might be overlooked by men who conſidered nothing ſo much as the impending danger that threatened them, were yet nevertheleſs ſuch as muſt appear conſiderable to thoſe who were charged with the guidance of the ſtate. Certain it is, that how light ſoever the confederates made of the title of Protector Royal which they were willing to allow the duke of Lorrain, much more might be couched under it than was communicated either to the lord deputy or commiſſioners, or ſignified in the public articles at that time; and indeed it is worth remarking that moſt of the reſtraints apparently laid the duke's power were but very ſlight, and the ſenſe of ſome of the principal articles indeterminate, as was ſufficiently ſhewn by the conſiderations on theſe articles, received by the earl of Clanrickard, from the lord lieutenant on the third day of Auguſt, ſixteen hundred and fifty-two; and as to the concluding a peace *in the name of the nation*, it was certainly ſuch a ſtep as

Clanrickard's memoirs.

as ought to be taken notice of, and thoſe concerned in it ſeverely checked for their preſumption.—But the greateſt myſtery of all, amongſt the confederates, was that the proteſtant marquis of Ormond, and even the king himſelf ſhould incline to ſpeak more favourably of this falſe ſtep than Clanrickard who was a catholic; a myſtery which however I do not think it very difficult to clear up. I believe this was not the only thing in which that catholic lord appeared more rigid to thoſe of his own religion than they had expected.——The cauſe ſeems to have been this;—Clanrickard conſidering himſelf as a deputy in the firſt inſtance, being moſt ſtrict in the diſcharge of his duty did not ſuppoſe himſelf at liberty to act in the ſame manner as a principal might do, and, in the ſecond inſtance, remembering that he was a catholic, he was more peculiarly careful that no conceſſions of his to thoſe of his own religion ſhould lead his ſovereign to ſuſpect his loyalty, or any of his fellow ſubjects to impeach his honour, or accuſe him of a blameable partiality. Thus circumſtanced, it only remained for him to abide by the articles of the peace, and by the letter of his inſtructions, wherever there was any precedent to go by, and where any new caſe offered, either to wait the determination of thoſe from whom he derived his authority, or if ſuch determination ſhould not arrive in time, to act with moſt peculiar caution in all that concerned them, and rather to err in aſcribing *too much* to them than *too little*. It was upon this plan that the noble perſonage we are ſpeaking of, formed the general tenor of his conduct; and as the caſe of the Lorrain treaty was the moſt extraordinary of any that had come under his cogniſance, ſo it was natural to ſuppoſe he

he would act in it with moſt extraordinary caution, leſt he might have been thought willing to barter his maſter's honour and advantage for other conſiderations, and betray the truſt repoſed in him as chief governor of the kingdom.—— But it was otherwiſe with the other perſonages. The marquis of Ormond, as Clanrickard's principal might ſpeak more freely, and beſides as a proteſtant, could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed willing to betray his royal maſter's intereſt for the ſake of ſetting up that of the confederates.—— As to the king, he had certainly an unbounded power of doing as he pleaſed in the buſineſs, and therefore might well be ſuppoſed even to ſpeak of it in a manner he might not have approved of in his ſervants.——However, we find his majeſty flatly diſapproved of the treaty in its terms; only like a merciful prince, (and one willing to allow for the times) he wiſhed the commiſſioners to be acquitted of any ill deſign in what they did, and as uſeful and well-meaning perſons to be reſtored to the lord deputy's favour and counſels. This determination indeed ſhews at once the king's moderation and judgement, but certainly throws no blame upon the lord deputy, who proceeded like a faithful ſervant to the crown, and who could gain nothing himſelf by impeding the treaty. In ſhort, both parties (the king and his miniſters) acted as they ought, while the confederates (all of them, except two or three flaming prelates) would have done, through raſhneſs, rather than malice, what loyalty and ſound policy forbad, and were yet likely to have reaped little fruits from all their intended conceſſions.—As to the duke of Lorrain, whatever principle might firſt have ſtirred him up to this expedition, it ſeems he would have

have embarked in it with too much caution to leave reaſon to celebrate his generoſity.——The treaty was ſcarcely ſet on foot before the nation was on the brink of ruin, and ſurely that was no time for a prince whoſe real aim was to ſerve the people, to dally with them in negociations, or to propoſe (or even accept the propoſal of) ſuch terms as he muſt well think muſt meet with oppoſition, unleſs the other contracting party acted from motives of ſuch abſolute neceſſity as muſt oblige them to accept of any terms; in which latter caſe all the obligation muſt vaniſh. I do not advance this in order to fix any blemiſh on the duke's character and conduct, but only to ſhew that he did not act upon ſuch romantic principles of heroiſm as the Iriſh generally aſcribe to him. He acted, we may ſuppoſe, upon the fair and common policy of princes.—He was willing to hazard ſomething in reſtoring to Charles the poſſeſſion of Ireland, and perhaps (if practicable) that of his other dominions,—but he was willing likewiſe to have both rewards and honours for his ſervices, if he could get them;—in ſhort, he was reſolved to make as good a bargain as he could, for the aſſiſtance he was to lend them; and with regard to ſome undefined articles, ſuch as that which related to his title of Protector Royal, it ſhould ſeem by his highneſs's unwillingneſs to have them altered, that he reſerved them in order to open a door to ſome ſort of diſcretionary authority, and other advantages, the nature and bounds of which perhaps even he himſelf at that time and place could not exactly determine. But ſomething ſurely was meant beyond a compliment, or elſe he would never have ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon them.

Theſe terms therefore Charles and his miniſters were certainly juſtified in refuſing; and the reaſons

ſons they aſſigned were cogent ones. However, when all theſe matters were ſettled, and his majeſty afterwards propoſed entering into a new treaty with the duke (the Iriſh in the mean time being every where defeated by the Engliſh rebels) we find that neither his highneſs's generoſity, heroiſm the ſufferings of the poor people, whom he had a while before expreſſed ſuch a compaſſion for, nor even his regard for the catholic religion itſelf could induce him to lend them any aid; for after a complimentery overture, he gave a ſufficient reaſon for not treating, in ſaying, "That now his majeſty had ſcarcely any thing left to treat for." which circumſtance I rather anticipate in point of time, in order to connect the account of the Lorrain affair, as much as poſſible together in one point of view, that the ſum of it may be more intelligible to the reader.

—But to return to the affairs of the campaign.—The Engliſh had opened it early this year, and, being furniſhed with ſupplies, proved every where ſucceſsful, while the Iriſh were reduced to guard the paſſes of the Shannon againſt a powerful enemy, that threatened perpetually to force their way into the only part of the country which was left to them, and reduce Limerick, their great bulwark, by their victorious arms.——To effect this latter, Sir Charles Coot marched to Sligo, and pretended to attack that place, but inſtead of ſo doing, ſlipped by the Iriſh, and paſſed over the Curlew mountains, thence coming to Athlone, he took that place, as he afterwards did Portumna, ſo that he gained two paſſes over the Shannon. In the mean time Killaloc paſs was alſo forced by Ireton with the main body of the army, who then marched down to Limerick, and intrenching himſelf before it, at length formed the regular ſiege of that important place.

The

The caſtle on the Weare was taken in the begining of July, the warders deſerting it, and betaking themſelves to the river; but theſe being continually expoſed to the ſhot of the Engliſh, came on ſhore in two parties, — thoſe who landed on the weſt ſide, where colonel Tuthill's regiment was, being promiſed quarter by one of his captains; yet by Tuthil's order, they were moſt barbarouſly butchered in cold blood. Even Ireton, the ſavage Ireton, diſapproved of this proceeding, which he plainly ſaw muſt drive the Iriſh to deſpair, and thereby render the reduction of the city ſtill more difficult; he therefore ordered that the other party which landed on the eaſtern quarter, ſhould not only have their lives given them, but that they ſhould be diſmiſſed without ranſom, and ſent into the city with a meſſage, expreſſing his deteſtation of breach of promiſe, informing the citizens, that Tuthil and his captain were caſhiered, and offering them what farther ſatisfaction they deſired for the outrage.

Indeed the general had occaſion to uſe all his ſtrength and all his art, either by force or perſuaſion to render his undertaking ſucceſsful, for Limerick being a ſtrong city, and almoſt the laſt boundary of the Iriſh, whither all their forces were either come already or drawing down faſt to relieve it, it was evident that if the natives poſſeſſed either courage or conduct, the ſiege would prove long and tedious, and the event at laſt be very dubious. Ireton was ſenſible of all this, and he took his meaſures accordingly.——He preſſed on his approaches with vigour:—he took the bridge; but the beſieged rendered it uſeleſs by timely breaking down two of the arches of it at the farther end; on which he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of the iſland by means of eleven

boats and a float he had provided for that purpoſe; but the float proving too ſhort, all the men except ſeven that landed out of the firſt five boats, were either drowned or ſlain by the enemy, and ſo that whole deſign miſcarried.

At the ſame time it was well known that the Iriſh were gathering forces to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege; for which reaſon the general deemed it proper to ſend to the lord Broghill with a kind of flying army, to diſturb and break their forces if poſſible, before they ſhould be in a condition to undertake any thing of conſequence.

This lord proceeded with all manner of expedition towards that quarter where he had intelligence of the enemy's aſſembling, and, in a few days, came near enough to them to diſcern their fires, they being encamped three miles to the ſouth, as he was then three miles to the north of Blackwater.

Early the next morning he paſſed the river, where he met with ſome Iriſh gentlemen, who were come under protection to that place, "Theſe told him (ſays Cox) that they were come out of curioſity to ſee the battle, becauſe of a prophecy among them, That the laſt battle in Ireland ſhould be at Knocknaclaſhy, and they ſuppoſed if ever it would happen, it would be now, ſince both armies were ſo near." Whereupon the lord Broghill aſked them, "Who was to have the victory, by their prophecy?" They ſhook their heads and ſaid, "The Engliſh."—Not to dwell upon this ſilly tale, it may generally be obſerved, that when the affairs of a nation are upon a decline, a hundred of theſe ſtrange predictions are brought to light, which never before were heard of.—Mens minds became troubled, and embarraſſed, and encouraging a kind of ſombrous

brous gloom, they brooded over the terrors of their own imaginations, and liſtened with avidity to thoſe things which moſt they dread to hear.—— Then the ſpirits of the community and of private perſons drooping alike, nothing is to be ſeen but ſights of horror, nothing to be heard but tales of woe and deſpair. The Iriſh catholics now were nearly at the ſame ebb of deſpondency, as the Engliſh and Scotch proteſtants were in the year ſixteen hundred and forty-one, —— when the ſpirits of thoſe ſlain in the maſſacre were averred to be ſeen riſing from lakes and rivers, ſome uttering doleful lamentations, and others propheſying the vengeance that would overtake their murderers. In both theſe caſes the diſtemper of the times occaſioned theſe vain fancies, which however, ſometimes contributed to give a turn to the events which they bore relation to.

And now the lord Broghill, who was perhaps encouraged by this idle prediction, marched to Knocknaclaſhy, when the enemy retiring, he returned back again over it towards the place where he intended to quarter. But the Iriſh falling upon his rear, he faced about, and the action began in the place where the ſuppoſed prophecy had fixed it.

The Iriſh were ſuperior in numbers, but the Engliſh excelled them in diſcipline. The budge barrels of both armies took fire in the beginning of the fight, and all circumſtances ſeemed to combine to prevent the engagement from being deciſive; however both ſides were firmly Cox. reſolved to make it ſo. They fought man to man, and horſe to horſe, with the moſt amazing intrepidity, till at laſt lord Broghill routed the left wing of the Iriſh, nevertheleſs a freſh party of them coming in, bade fair ro regain the day, and would have done ſo, if the Engliſh had not

been inſtructed to ſet up a ſhout, and cry they run! they run! on which thoſe in the firſt rank turning to look, the reſt who were behind ſeeing their companions faces, thought they were preparing for flight, and therefore themſelves fled with great precipitation, which proved the ruin of that party, and ſo the battalia entirely gave way. Yet once again a conſiderable body of them made a ſtand with pikes ſo firm that it was long before they could by any means be broken, till at laſt being charged violently in the angles, they were forced to give way, and, in conſequence, were entirely routed with great ſlaughter. After the action a great number were ſlain and taken priſoners in the purſuit, and lord Broghill returned with the glad tidings of his victory to the main body of the Engliſh army.

Great rejoicings were made in the camp of Ireton before Limerick on account of this ſucceſs, nevertheleſs the city ſtill remained impregnable to his aſſaults, and he was ſo far from being in a condition to reduce it (at leaſt for that time) that he had lately loſt three hundred men by one of the ſallies of the beſieged, which were ſtrong and frequent. But the citizens who had ever been mutinous and troubleſome, inſtead of ſitting themſelves down contented, and truſting the event of theſe things to the brave officers who had the charge of defending them, would not be ſatisfied without coming to a parley. Indeed there was ſomething very remarkable in this ſedition, which was that none of the eccleſiaſtics had any hand in it; for how much ſoever they might have hindered the proceedings of the war before, they ſaw themſelves now driven to ſuch an extremity, that they both ſaw and declared, That to treat with the enemy was to give up the prelates to be ſlaughtered. They threatened therefore to excommunicate

communicate the townſmen if they offered to treat with the enemy; but theſe latter deeming that things were come to ſuch a paſs, that it was time for all parties to ſhift for themſelves, thought of nothing but their own private ſafety and advantage. Swayed by ſuch motives, regardleſs of the threats of the biſhops, and their interdicts, which were actually fixed upon the church doors and in other public places, they prevailed on colonel Fennel to ſeize on St. John's gate, the mayor ſupplying him with powder, and abetting him in the reſolution of giving up that poſt to the enemy unleſs the garriſon would capitulate. Things being thus circumſtanced, this ſtrong city was ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth day of October, the biſhop of Limerick and twelve other perſons being excepted by name, as to life, and ſome of them, among whom were the biſhop of Emly, and Alderman Dominick Fanning, actually executed. The ſeaſon of the year being ſo far advanced, Limerick would almoſt have defended itſelf, and if theſe extraordinary men had had patience, the Engliſh would moſt probably at laſt have gone away without it. At leaſt there would have been no occaſion to have accepted ſuch hard and ſhameful conditions, if there had not been a mutiny within, as well as an enemy without the town; but it was in this manner that the confederates wrought their own deſtruction, which they had now drawn on to a final period.

For though Gallway (which had been ſummoned immediately after Limerick was taken, and Sir Hardreſs Waller made governor of it) enjoyed ſome little reſpite by the death of Ireton, which happened on the twenty-ſixth of November; yet it did not hold out long; for the parliament's commiſſioners at Dublin, having ap-

pointed Ludlow their lieutenant general, he, in conjunction with Sir Charles Coot, drew ſo near to that town, that the aſſembly ſitting there ſent to deſire that the lord deputy would permit them to treat for the ſettlement of the nation, with the enemy, but his excellency thinking that office more properly belonged to him, wrote to the commander of the parliament's forces concerning that buſineſs; but he was given to underſtand, that the Engliſh would make no treaty for the nation in general, but would only admit of particular capitulations for the reſpective towns or perſons who ſhould require them.

—After theſe fruitleſs overtures, Gallway was ſurrendered to Sir Charles Coot, on the twelfth of May, before the enemy had begun to aſſault it, the beſieged being tempted to this by having better conditions confirmed to them, than they could have expected from the parliament's commiſſioners, and Sir Charles being induced to make himſelf maſter of it on any reaſonable terms, from a conſideration of the ſtrength of the place, and the reflexion that the capture of it would in effect put an end to the Iriſh war, which indeed was the caſe, nothing of any conſequence now remaining to be wreſted from the Iriſh, and no matters of great concern ſtanding recorded after the battle of Knocknaclaſhy, and the ſurrender of the cities of Limerick and Galway.

Roſcommon and Jameſtown had been delivered up to Colonel Reynolds in April; whilſt in Munſter, Roſs in the county of Kerry, was all that remained to the confederates. This caſtle being ſituate in an iſland, Ludlow cauſed a little veſſel to be made, which being conveyed over the mountains was ſet on float in the lake, at which the Iriſh garriſon were ſo much ſurpriſed and diſcouraged,

diſcouraged, that they delivered up the fort, and afterwards Inchylough was ſurrendered to colonel Zanchy. And though the lord deputy had taken Ballyſhannon and Donnegal, yet both theſe were ſoon taken, and he himſelf obliged to take ſhelter in in the Iſle of Carrick, where having no longer any thing to defend, and finding himſelf entirely deſerted, that noble governor at length alſo ſubmitted to the enemy, but upon very honourable conditions; it being granted "That he ſhould not have any oath impoſed upon him, and that he ſhould have the liberty of tranſporting three thouſand men, into the ſervice of any prince in amity with England." — And on theſe conditions he ſurrendered himſelf, and was tranſported in a parliament-ſhip to England, when ſoon after he paid the debt of nature, dying in peace in the capital.——

And thus ended the war, which being finiſhed, the parliament ſet about ſettling the civil affairs of the country, the government being adminiſtered by the commiſſioners of parliament, Charles Fleetwood, Edmond Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, Eſquires, the management of the army being committed ſolely to the firſt mentioned of theſe commiſſioners.

It was now that the high courts of juſtice were erected at Dublin and elſewhere, before which divers of the Iriſh were brought to anſwer for the murders committed upon the Engliſh proteſtants at the time of the maſſacre, and for which above one hundred and fifty were tried, caſt, condemned and executed. The principal of them all, was Sir Phelim O'Neal (brother of Owen Roe O'Neal) who was ſtrongly urged at his trial to diſcover, whether he had really received his pretended commiſſion from the king, which he then

ſtrongly denied, ſaying, That he had no ſuch commiſſion, but that he took the ſeal from a patent he had found at Charlemont, and affixed it to a commiſſion he had cauſed to be written in the king's name, and that Michael Harriſon, then preſent in court had ſtitched the cord or label of the ſeal with the ſilk of the ſame colour.—— He was again urged in the ſame manner, before his execution and tempted with the proffer, not only of his life, but alſo of all his eſtates, if he would only *ſay*, that he had king Charles's warrant for what he had done; but this man, who had ſo confidently avowed the matter before with ſeemingly much leſs temptation, and merely to anſwer a private end, was at his death noble enough to exculpate his innocent ſovereign. Even when the excutioneer was juſt about to do his office, a perſon came up that bade him ſtop a while, and then whiſpered with Sir Phelim, who was heard to anſwer aloud, That he was much obliged to the lord lieutenant for his intended favour, but that he could not think of advancing any ſuch thing. —— Such were the mean arts by which thoſe wretches ſtrove to work upon the hopes and fears of men, to bring them to aſſert falſities, which might caſt aſperſions upon the memory of their prince.

But their reign was not to be long, as we ſhall ſee when we come to caſt our eyes upon England, where party and faction, rage and jealouſy, malice and diſcontent had already filled their counſels. Cromwell having diſſolved the long parliament, had continued to get an act of government paſſed, whereby one hundred and forty four perſons were veſted with the ſovereign power, but theſe being purpoſely choſen from among ſuch as were not capable of it, he contrived

that

that the majority of them ſhould voluntarily reſign in his favour and that of his council of the officers, which latter declared that the power of the government ſhould be veſted in Cromwell, with the title of Protector, aſſiſted by a council of twenty-one perſons. And thus did he eſtabliſh himſelf on the ruins both of the monarchy and the common-wealth, and blazed a while, a meteor to be wondered at by the nations, and portending evil to the times unborn.

In the ſmall ſpace allotted him to reign, the uſurper ſucceeded ſurpriſingly in moſt of his undertakings at home and abroad, and triumphed in general over all enemies but his own evil conſcience, which proved the worſt to him of all, and which kept him in perpetual terrors. He was for ever haunted with the horrors of his guilt, for ever in fear of aſſaſſination, though he never felt the ſtroke: he wore armour under his cloaths, placed centinels at the doors of his chamber, and ſeldom ſlept three nights in the ſame room, nor even communicated the change of his lodging to thoſe of his own family. Death at laſt put an end to his fears and his exiſtence together, and after the firmeſt aſſurances from the fanatic preachers, that he ſhould not die of that diſtemper, he expired in conſequence of a tertian ague, on the third day of September, in the year ſixteen hundred and fifty-eight, amidſt as violent a ſtorm as had been known in the memory of man.

On his death his ſon Richard was nominated Protector; but the army not being thoroughly ſatisfied with his adminiſtration, and beſides deſiring to take all power into their own hands, ſoon after diveſted him of his dignity, and reduced him to the ſtation of a private man, an inſult which

which he was not of a diſpoſition to take much to heart, as his temper was in every reſpect different from that of his father, neither reſembling him in his capacity nor in his vices. Change after change ſucceeded, now the parliament, then the army, then the parliament again, preſiding over the affairs of the nation, till at length, at a time when the army ſeemed to carry all before them, General Monk (ſo often mentioned in this hiſtory,) being with an army at the head of affairs in Scotland, declared for the parliament of England, (mutilated as it was) againſt this military faction, and abſolutely by the terror of his arms reſtored them to their power; but when on his advancing into England they ſent him a meſſage of thanks, &c. ſignified that there was no occaſion for his preſence, he let them ſee that the great work which he had at heart was not yet accompliſhed. He ſtill proceeded; he came to the houſe, he refuſed the act of abjuration, he inſiſted on the excluded members of both houſes being reſtored, and undertook that Herculean labour, of once more metamorphoſing the *rump* into a parliament. All things ſucceeded to his wiſh, the excluded members of the old parliament being reſtored, the *rump* abaſhed, withdrew; then, after many regulations they diſſolved, and iſſued writs for the calling together a new parliament, in which the commoners were once again aſſembled in a reſpectable body, the lords re-aſſumed their places according to ancient uſage, and the whole once more took the form of a conſtitutional parliament, the lawful great council of the nation. It is eaſy to think what glorious conſequences muſt follow ſuch a happy revolution: no leſs than the thorough reformation of church and ſtate, which had for ſo many years

years been laid in ruin; no leſs than the reſtoration of the rightful monarch to his oppreſſed people, who had moſt ſufficiently ſmarted under the ſcourge of thoſe civil wars that ſome infatuated ones among them had kindled, and who were now more than bleſſed, if they knew their own happineſs, in having their ancient line of kings reſtored to them without confuſion, and without even the ſpilling of one drop of blood.

For, at this ſeaſonable juncture, Charles had ſent over a declaration to be delivered to the lords, implying his intention to govern by the laws of the kingdom, and containing many other cauſes of a like nature, in which he expreſſed his hopes, that, as they were now reſtore to their privileges, they would uſe their endeavours to appeaſe the troubles of the kingdom, eſtabliſh his majeſty in his juſt prerogatives, reſtored to the parliament its privileges, and to the people their liberties.

This declaration being read, the lords, in conſequence, voted. That, according to the ancient conſtitution of England, the government ought to be veſted in a king, lords, and commons. The ſame declaration being delivered, with another letter, to the lower houſe, they concurred with this vote, and beſides reſolved to preſent his majeſty with fifty thouſand, the duke of York with ten thouſand, and the duke of Glouceſter with five thouſand pounds, and immediately erazed all thoſe acts which had paſſed againſt royalty for ever from their records. Congratulatory addreſſes were propoſed, and ſent over to the king at Breda, and on the eighth day of May, in the year ſixteen hundred and ſixty, the King was proclaimed, by the ſtyle and title of King Charles the Second, in the city of London. On the ſixteenth day of the ſame month, he gave

gave audience to the deputies of the parliament: He embarked for England on the twenty-third, landed at Dover on the twenty-ſixth, and on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day, he reached Whitehall, and took quiet poſſeſſion of the throne and palace of his anceſtors.

Such a ſtupendous revolution muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to affect all the Britiſh dominions. In Ireland they had even begun to feel its firſt movements. At the cloſe of the war, the government of that iſland was veſted in Fleetwood and certain commiſſioners, in Auguſt, the former command-the army, Henry Cromwell, the protector's ſecond ſon, was next made chief of the military; and when Oliver died, Richard Cromwell made his brother lord lieutenant; however the parliament afterwards ſent over Ludlow, Jones, Thomlinſon, Corbet, and Berry, to take the government of the kingdom; in whoſe hands it continued till the reſtoration, only Ludlow was abſent when that event took place.

During this ſpace of the interregnum the Iriſh catholics, and indeed the natives in general, were ruled with a rod of iron. Many of their leaders, who would not ſubmit upon terms of pardon and reconciliation to their king, now ſuffered by the hands of the common executioner, ſome (among whom is generally reckoned the lord of Mayo) for crimes which they were not guilty of; their religion was totally ſubverted; odious engagements were impoſed, their property was given away before their faces, and moſt of them were tranſplanted from the different provinces into Connaught, there to ſubſiſt upon a ſmall pittance of land, while their eſtates and poſſeſſions were parcelled out among ſoldiers and adventurers. Their very name was become

become hateful, a proverb and a reproach among their fellow-ſubjects. In the midſt of theſe ſufferings, groaning for a deliverance, they entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes from the firſt dawn they deſcried of it, and one and all ſuppoſed they ſhould enjoy every thing that their hearts could wiſh, when they ſaw a way paved for the reſtoration of the royal family. Forgetful of the many conteſts they had held with the king and his miniſters, and the oppoſition they had maintained againſt them in times of diſtreſs and danger; forgetful of his majeſty's circumſtances and their own, they expected every thing from him as ſoon as they had the idea of being eſtabliſhed in his rights, and were cruelly diſappointed in conſequence of ſuch extravagant expectations.

Indeed, if we come to examine the merits of the caſe, we ſhall find there is reaſon to term theſe expectations extravagant. For though it muſt be owned that, at the latter end of the war, a great number of the confederates did moſt valiantly fight for the king's cauſe againſt the Engliſh rebels, yet at the ſame time it ſhould be conſidered that his majeſty's cauſe was at that juncture ſo interwoven with their own, that they could not avoid ſo doing without courting their own immediate ruin; and that even in the midſt of that dilemma there were ſtill many of them who were induſtrious in endeavouring to break that union, without which neither party could ſubſiſt; and it was finally owing to their liſtening to ſuch evil-minded perſons that they, together with the royaliſts, were at laſt totally brought under by the parliament. It will not be denied indeed but that there were many gallant ſpirits among the Iriſh catholics, who preferred their allegiance to every other tie, and who (as the

the only teſt to diſtinguiſh loyalty from intereſt) utterly refuſed and rejected every advantage to themſelves which did an injury to their prince; ſome of theſe ſhed their blood in his cauſe, and all ſuch deſerve to be remembered with honour. But certainly, candidly and impartially ſpeaking, it was not ſo with all; and at leaſt *one great patry* of the confederates, though ſo far reconciled to their ſovereign, as not to be deemed rebels, yet rather fought their own battles than his, and often ſet up their own peculiar intereſt in oppoſition to his, and even to the common good and welfare of the community.

Surely, if theſe things had been duly weighed, the expectations of the catholics had no reaſon to run ſo very high as at this time they did, and eſpecially as they could have but little ſhare in bringing about thoſe matters which in Ireland contributed to facilitate his reſtoration.

But allowing theſe Iriſh to have infinitely more merit, with regard to their ſervices, than they could, with any degree of juſtice lay claim to, yet it would have been a piece of prudence in them to have conſidered the circumſtances of the king, and the manner of his reſtoration.—If by a happy union with their ſovereign from the æra of his royal father's death, (at which time they might plainly have ſeen the error of their former conduct) theſe confederate catholics had, by acting in concert with his miniſters, both in the cabinet and in the field, reſtored him but to *one* part of his natural dominions, (a thing at that time by no means impoſſible to compaſs) they might then indeed have had a claim to his favour on their part, while Charles, on his, might have given the moſt ſubſtantial reaſons for making many conceſſions to oblige them.—But the caſe was different;—they had conferred no ſuch favour;

favour; and thoſe who had been inſtrumental in reſtoring him were of contrary principles to thoſe claimants, and doubtleſs thought they had a greater right to be obliged. Charles, in effect, was reſtored upon conditions, ſome of which were expreſſed, but ſtill more were underſtood to be implied. The leaſt ſhadow of an inclination to fly off from any of theſe, at that juncture, muſt have proved of dangerous conſequences. The Iriſh knew in what a light their country had lately been looked upon by the Engliſh.—The prejudices of mens minds were far from being worn off in that, as well as in many other matters, and therefore whatever might have been the ſentiments of the king in their regard, policy, and a care for his own ſafety, and the proſperity of his new ſettled government, nay even a fear of rendering the Iriſh once more obnoxious to the revenge of the Engliſh, muſt naturally have withheld him from being very laviſh of his favours to the former.——Yet it ſeems all theſe conſiderations had little weight with the catholics of Ireland, who being ready to take advantage of the motions that were made to reeſtabliſh the king, thought likewiſe that they had a right to make that event ſerve for their own private emolument; on which account many of them haſtily ſeized ſeveral eſtates to which they laid claim; a ſtep that ſo ſuddenly taken, was likely to have involved the nation in freſh confuſion.

But to proceed with the particulars of the reſtoration as far as they relate to Ireland:—the humour of the generality of the people there, as well as in England, inclining to the reſtoration of Charles's authority, ſeveral perſons of note concerted meaſures to bring about that happy event, among whom were the lords Montgommery and

and Broghill, Sir Charles Coot, captain Robert Fitz Gerald, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George, Sir Audley Mervin, colonel Mark Trevor, and colonel Warren. Theſe gentlemen ſurpriſed Jones in the caſtle of Dublin, ſeized on Corbet and Thomlinſon at a conventicle, and having awed Sir Hardreſs Waller into a compliance, declared for a free parliament. However Sir Hardreſs found means to wreſt the caſtle again out of their hands, whereby they were put to freſh trouble; nevertheleſs, after a five days ſiege, they obliged him to ſurrender it, together with his perſon, and willing at once to get rid of him, they ſent him, Jones, Tomlinſon, and Corbet over priſoners to England.

Having called a convention, ſome warm diſputes aroſe between theſe confederates, whether they ſhould not article with the king concerning the eſtates granted to the adventurers and ſoldiers; but the majority being for his majeſty's reſtoration, without any ſuch previous engagement, that matter was of courſe determined in the negative; and ſo the buſineſs proceeded.

The firſt act of this convention was, to order a ſolemn faſt and humiliation to be obſerved for the people's ſins, among which the murder of the late king was particularly mentioned, a circumſtance which was almoſt of itſelf ſufficient at that time to be deemed an earneſt for their future loyalty.—Then the council of officers publiſhed their declaration for a full and free parliament, and the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members in the parliament of England; and purſuant to it the convention publiſhed a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, and afterwards they accepted his majeſty's declaration from Breda, and concurred in his reſtoration.

It was at this period that the catholics began reſuming and queſtioning eſtates, which occaſioned

caſioned the convention in May to iſſue a declaration for quieting poſſeſſions; and in June his majeſty alſo iſſued one to the ſame purpoſe in England.

Then the convention, having given the king twenty thouſand pounds, the duke of York four thouſand pounds, and the duke of Glouceſter half that ſum, adjourned till the month of November following, having left a ſtanding committee to govern the nation.

His majeſty approving of this aſſembly in October, it met again in January, and ſo continued till its diſſolution in May, ſixteen hundred and ſixty-one.—In the mean time Sir Charles Coot and Major William Bury had the management of all affairs in Ireland, under the title of commiſſioners of government. But ſoon after, Sir Maurice Euſtace, lord chancellor, Roger, earl of Orrery, and Charles, earl of Montrath, were made lords juſtices, whoſe inſtructions were to the following effect.—To ſwear thoſe named for privy counſellors.—To appoint ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace by the advice of the council, and to open the courts of juſtice. To promote peace and quietneſs, as well in the army as elſewhere, and to hinder any prejudice to his majeſty.—To do what they could to increaſe the revenue and advance the public ſervice.——To prepare ſuch bills as ſhould be thought by them and the council to be for the people, and to tranſmit them to England, in purſuance of Poyning's law, in order to a parliament.——To reduce the king's conceſſions to the commiſſioners of the general convention of Ireland into bills to paſs next parliament.——To ſend over names of fit commiſſioners to execute his majeſty's declaration for the ſettlement of that kingdom;—and to cauſe the oaths of al-

legiance and ſupremacy to be taken by all his majeſty's liege ſubjects, and to proceed according to law againſt all thoſe who refuſed.

—Upon the eighth day of May this year, a parliament was ſummoned, when Dr. Bramhall, archbiſhop of Ardmagh was ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, as was Sir Audley Mervin of the houſe of commons, which parliament preſented James, formerly marquis now duke of Ormond, and appointed lord lieutenant, with a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds, in teſtimony of their gratitude and affection to him, and ſoon after an indulgence to diſſenters was publiſhed.

In the midſt of this general joy the catholics began to appear with clouded brows; they could not without ſome repining behold the proteſtants happy in the reſtoration of their national church to its original ſplendour, whilſt, on their parts, they ſaw all the hopes they had formed of having their mode of worſhip patroniſed, vaniſh like a dream. A bill of ſettlement likewiſe was talked of, by which they were not likely to be ſuch gainers as they had at firſt imagined; for many of the officers and adventurers who ſhared the loſt eſtates of the catholics were too powerfully eſtabliſhed in their connexions, for the new government (were it never ſo well diſpoſed) to remove them. It is allowed that ſuch conſiderations were cutting; but when theſe men reflected to what a neceſſity their king was reduced, in regard to what related to them, and likewiſe how great a ſhare they themſelves had had in bringing things into ſuch a ſituation, patience would beſt have become them, and a continuance in an humble demeanour, till by their peaceful and loyal behaviour they might have merited the grace and favour of their prince, and the good-

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will of their fellow-ſubjects, whereby all burdens might have been lightened, and they themſelves lived happy in a flouriſhing kingdom.

But impatience is one of the general characteriſtics of the Iriſh. They thought themſelves much injured, and immediately they deeply felt that they were ſo. They complained of the king's proceedings towards them; they handed down their diſapprobation of theſe to their children, and to this moment they are cenſured accordingly. Charles indeed was not famous for rewarding even his friends, and his ſucceſſor ſeverely felt the conſequences of this neglect at a future period; but ſurely if ever the reſtored monarch had ſufficient pleas for not granting conceſſions, it was in regard to the Iriſh for the cauſe above-mentioned, the moſt concluſive of all which amounts but to this plain reaſon,---becauſe he was not in a ſituation to grant them.

As to the bill of ſettlement it was not paſſed into an act till the fifteenth of September, the ſeſſion of parliament beginning in the April preceding, and if we may credit Cox, notwithſtanding the Iriſh complain that they were never heard on this matter, yet all they could ſay was heard and debated, (and he ſays *even with favour to them*) they had agents to whom they allowed three pence *per* acre for that purpoſe, and every, he ſays, word in the bill was expunged to which they could have any juſt objection.

And having told us that the ſaid bill was expoſed to the Iriſh and their council for no leſs a ſpace than ſix months, before it was paſſed into a law, he recites an order of the king and council after the matter was determined, which is in matter and form following:

" At the court of Whitehall,
On the fourteenth day of March, 1671.
Preſent, the King's moſt excellent Majeſty,

His Royal Highneſs the duke of York,	Earl of Carliſle,
Lord Chancellor,	Lord Seymore,
Lord Privy Seal,	Lord Hatton,
Duke of Ormond,	Lord Holles,
Marquis of Dorcheſter,	Lord Aſhley,
Lord Chamberlain,	Mr. Trear,
Ear of Northumberland,	Mr. Comptroller,
Earl of Norwich,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Earl of St. Albans,	Mr. Secretary Nicholas,
Earl of Angleſey,	Mr. Secretary Morrice.

THIS day Mr. Solicitor-general making report to his majeſty in council, from the committee of this board for the affairs of Ireland, upon conſideration of ſeveral papers, preſented to the board, by Sir Nicholas Plunket in the behalf of ſome of the Roman catholics of Ireland, concerned in his majeſty's declaration, according to an order of the twelfth of this inſtant, that after the committee had debated the ſaid papers, the commiſſioners from the council, and the parliament of Ireland were called in and heard, and preſented to the committee ſeveral papers, viz. Inſtructions given by the ſupreme council, and others of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of the confederate catholics of Ireland, to be obſerved by the biſhop of Fernes, and Nicholas Plunket in the court of Rome, bearing date the eighteenth of January, ſixteen hundred and forty-ſeven, a draught of inſtructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication publiſhed at Jameſtown; ——and all the ſaid papers being read, and the ſaid commiſſioners being withdrawn. and the committee then calling

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in the ſaid Sir Nicholas Plunket, and aſking him whether the ſignatures of the inſtructions to Rome, by command of the general aſſembly, were of his hand writing; and whether the draught of the inſtructions to France and Spain were his writing alſo, he acknowledged in the preſence of the committee, that they were; and that hereupon it was the opinion of the committee that the bill for the common ſettlement of that kingdom ſhould not be retarded, but proceeded upon with all poſſible expedition. It was upon conſideration of the ſaid report ordered, That in regard the ſaid Roman catholics have been already ſeveral times fully heard at this board; as to the ſaid bill of ſettlement, no more petitions or farther addreſſes be required or admitted from them for obſtructing the ſame,——but the engroſſing thereof be proceeded upon without any delay, according as the ſame is already prepared. And alſo that Mr. Solicitor-general do ſend all the proviſos already allowed of by the ſaid committee to be likewiſe engroſſed. And it was farther ordered, That the clerk of the council attending, do not only ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure unto the ſaid Sir Nicholas Plunket, that he do forbear coming into, or appearing in his majeſty's preſence or court, but alſo give notice of this order to the committee employed from the ſaid council and parliament, to be by them tranſmitted into Ireland."

Copia Vera. EDWARD WALKER."

Various and numerous however were the complaints made againſt this act of ſettlement; and notwithſtanding the paſſage I have quoted from Cox with whom the Engliſh writers agree, yet the Iriſh in general aſſert that the time allowed was too ſhort, and that the judges were in a great

meaſure parties concerned, and finally that ſome thouſands of loyal catholics were obliged to depart, (becauſe the court might not be prorogued) without having been admitted to a trial, while their eſtates and properties were divided among the adventurers the ſoldiers of Cromwell, and others who had been in open rebellion againſt king Charles the Firſt.——

In the year ſixteen hundred and thirty-three, Jepſon, Blood, and others formed a plot to ſeize upon the caſtle of Dublin, but the lord lieutenant having received intelligence of their ſcheme prevented it, and iſſued a proclamation againſt the conſpirators; then the Iriſh parliament was prorogued, who, when they ſat for the diſpatch of buſineſs in the October following, manifeſted their abhorrence of the plot by a public declaration.—And both papiſts and proteſtants, ſome few particular perſons excepted, were there upon diſarmed, throughout the whole kingdom.

In April the lord lieutenant went over to England, leaving his ſon, the lord Oſſory, as his deputy, but returned in the beginning of September, and brought over with him, The act of explanation, which paſſed into a ſtatute on the fifteenth day of December in the ſame year; and ſoon after his arrival he raiſed a proteſtant militia for the defence of the country.

The ſucceeding year all was pretty quiet in Ireland, as to the internal ſtate of the country; but the great preparations making by the courts of France and Spain cauſing ſome apprehenſions of foreign war, the commons voted thanks to be given to the lord lieutenant for making them acquainted with theſe circumſtances, gave the king ſeveral ſubſidies, and promiſed with their lives and fortunes to aſſiſt his excellency againſt all his majeſty's enemies.

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In the month of May, in the famous year ſixteen hundred and ſixty-ſix, about two hundred corporals and ſoldiers committed the raſh action of ſeizing Carrickfergus; but the earl of Arran, with four companies of guards preſently re-took that place, and as it was in a time of open war, ten of theſe mutineers were condemned to death, but the reſt of them were received to mercy.—And this year was remarkable for that dreadful fire which reduced the greateſt part of London to a heap of aſhes, the contrivance of which at that public time of confuſion was moſt unjuſtly attributed to the papiſts, though if any one of us now living had accurately obſerved the building of the capital at that time, he might eaſily have accounted for the accident, which at leaſt had, however, this good effect, that it purified the air, and buried the remains of the plague under it ruins; whilſt it left a moral aſſurance that neither peſtilence nor fire would ever again work the ſame dreadful effects upon the new raiſed city, which was built upon a better plan, and capable of an infinity of improvements.

The next year Ireland was diſturbed with repeated alarms of an invaſion, which however came to nothing; though the people were ſo much terrified thereby, that the militia was every where raiſed, and thoſe of Leinſter rendezvouſed on the Curragh of Kildare, where the lord lieutenant reviewed them. A ſquadron of ſhips about the ſame time hovering on the ſouthern coaſt, the inhabitants were much frightened; however, they happily proved to be an Engliſh fleet under Sir Jeremy Smith, which about the middle of July anchored in the harbour of Kinſale.

The lord lieutenant embarked in the beginning of the year ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight for

England, leaving his ſon, lord Oſſory, deputy as before, who the next year ſurrendered the ſword to John lord Roberts, of Truro, as did the latter to John lord Berkly, baron of Stratton, who was ſworn lord lieutenant on the twenty firſt day of May, in the year ſixteen hundred and ſeventy, and to whom the following inſtructions were given:

"Firſt, That being appointed lord lieutenant you are to receive the ſword of ſtate, and take the accuſtomed oath.

"Secondly, Foraſmuch as all good ſucceſs doth reſt upon the ſervice of God, above all things, you are to ſettle good order in the church, that God may be better ſerved in the true eſtabliſhed religion, and the people by that means be reduced from their errors in religion, wherein they have been too long moſt unhappily and perniciouſly ſeduced; and never more than ſince the late fatal rebellion, which hath produced too plentiful a ſeed-time of atheiſm, ſuperſtition, and ſchiſm. But in your care of religion be ſure to moderate the precipation and prepoſterous zeal of any on what ſpecious pretences ſoever, who, under the name of Chriſt's kingdom, the church, and religion, diſturb both church and ſtate, and may endanger the peace thereof; whereas, by wiſdom and moderation, the eſtabliſhed religion will not only be more firmly ſettled again, but by a wiſe and diligent hand the tares and cocle, which many years war and confuſion have ſowed, will be moſt ſafely picked out. In order to this proceed as in the beginning of the lord Chicheſter's time to the building and repairing of churches. And becauſe good preachers are with difficulty obtained, without competent means inſpect the eccleſiaſtical livings, with aſſiſtance of ſome of the church, and others of ſkill, and raiſe them

them, as you can, and ſupply thoſe in our gift with pious, apt, and able perſons, men of good reſpect and credit, and reſidents; and perſuade all patrons to do the like, and to eſchew corruption.—Obſerve the directions about the church of Ireland in the year ſixteen hundred and twenty-three, and ſee that the clergy loſe nothing deſtined for them in the ſeveral plantations;—and that fit and diligent ſchool-maſters may have the benefit of our donations, and the act of parliament.—And encourage the people to ſend their youth to the college of Dublin.

"Thirdly, Send us an account of the ſtate of the kingdom, what is wanting, and how it may be ſupplied.

"Fourthly, Enquire diligently how our judges, officers, and miniſters, behave themſelves in diſcharge of their reſpective truſts, that faulty perſons may be ſucceeded by better.

"Fifthly, Take exact muſters, and adminiſter the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, to all officers, and ſoldiers,——and caſhier all ſuch as refuſe.

"Sixthly, To prevent falſe muſters, and the muſtering of ſervants and tenants, &c. change quarters often even to remote provinces; renewing in this particular the printed inſtructions and rules to the commiſſaries in the duke of Ormond's time with ſuch alterations and additions, as ſhall be found requiſite.

"Seventhly, Quarter the ſoldiers, moſt conveniently for our ſervice, and the leaſt burthenſome to the ſubjects, and give ſtrict directions that they live orderly, and according to diſcipline; and that the officer may not detain the ſoldiers pay, nor abſent himſelf without licence, which muſt not exceed three months.

"Eighthly,

" Eighthly, Inſpect the revenue, &c. exactly as it was on the twentieth of January, ſixteen hundred and ſixty-nine, and is now.

" Ninthly, Improve it by increaſe of the income, and abatement of the charge.

" Tenthly, If any orders under the great or privy ſeal, privy ſignet, or ſign manual, or from the privy council, ſhall come unto you contrary to theſe inſtructions, or in your opinion unfit to be obeyed, you may ſuſpend your obedience, until you ſignify your reaſons for ſo doing, and receive our anſwer.

" Eleventhly, Make no grant or leave of any thing of ours, till office be found, or record entered, and an indifferent ſurvey or valuation thereof made, and that then the ſum be put in charge in the proper offices, and the grantee give you a ſecurity for rents and covenants.

" Twelfthly, Let new ſurveys be made of all forfeited, eſcheated, and concealed lands, &c.

" Thirteenthly, Improve trade as far as you can, without breach of the acts of navigation and tranſportation of Iriſh cattle; particularly encourage fiſhery, the linen manufactory, and the reſort of proteſtant ſtrangers, and if they amount to any number, we will order them ſuch privileges for their religion as will beſt conſiſt with the peace of that kingdom. Have a ſtrict eye to the tranſportation of wool; take bonds diligently, and proſecute them ſeverely; and the better to diſcover frauds, tranſmit your bonds hither, to be compared with the certificates here. Alſo prevent the abuſe of coining, vending, and uttering ſmall moneys.

Fourteenthly, Endeavour to bring all to a conformity in the religion by law eſtabliſhed; and acquaint us with what difficulties you meet therein.

" Fifteenthly,

" Fifteenthly, Inſpect our forts, caſtles, magazines, and ſtores, and endeavour to make ſaltpetre.

" Sixteenthly, As we are informed, That ſmall profit hath heretofore come to our exchequer by caſtle-chamber fines, miſdemeanours proper for puniſhment in that court were many; we would therefore you look into the reaſon thereof, and to re-ſettle and uphold the honour and juriſdiction of that court, for the repreſſing exorbitant offences, wherein our learned council are to do their duty faithfully.

" Seventeenthly, The vice-treaſurer or deputy is to receive all money.

" Eighteenthly, Reduce the monies there to the condition of ſterling, and eſtabliſh a mint there.

Nineteenthly, Finding ſome propoſitions of the duke of Ormond (recorded in the regiſter of council cauſes in ſixteen hundred and ſixty-nine) fit to be obſerved, we have reſerved them with reference to your government thereof;—Obſerve them.

" Laſtly, ſeveral of the popiſh clergy ſince the return of the duke of Ormond hither, having been ſaid to exerciſe their juriſdiction, to the great grief of the remonſtrants: if ſo, execute the laws againſt the titular archbiſhops, biſhops, and vicars generals, that have threatened or excommunicated the remonſtrants; and protect ſuch remonſtrants as have not withdrawn their ſubſcriptions."—

But now the differences between the proteſtants and papiſts began again to blaze out, in regard to the diſputed claims of particular eſtates, to try which various commiſſions were iſſued, but whichever way theſe matters were determined in point of right, the minds of neither party were quieted.

It

If I were to follow the author before-mentioned, I ſhould execrate the catholics for daring to think of any claims, however juſt; for he ſays, "The pretended grievances had they been true were few and ſmall, and it were much better for the public *that even greater irregularities than were complained of ſhould remain unremedied, than that the great and common ſecurity of the nation ſhould be ſhaken:*" And this would be moſt certainly true, if the reſtoring a few private perſons, who were injured, to their lawful inheritance could ſhake it; but indeed the matter appears to have been quite the reverſe; and, on the contrary, the denial of ſuch acts of juſtice, or the perpetrating act of oppreſſion was moſt at ſuch a juncture to ſhake the ſtate; or at leaſt was certain to widen the breach between the two parties, which a prudent legiſlature ought to have uſed every endeavour to avoid.

"Nevertheleſs, prejudices ran ſo high at this time that regardleſs of ſuch juſt and wiſe policy the parliament of England bent on humbling the catholics of Ireland, framed and preſented the following petition:

"WE, your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, taking into conſideration the great calamities which have formerly befallen your majeſty's ſubjects of the kingdom of Ireland from the popiſh recuſants there, who for the moſt part are profeſſed enemies to the proteſtant religion and the Engliſh intereſt, and how they make uſe of your majeſty's gracious diſpoſition and clemency, and are at this time grown more inſolent and preſumptuous than formerly, to the apparent danger of that kingdom, and your majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects,

jects there, the conſequence whereof may likewiſe prove very fatal to this your majeſty's kingdom of England, if not timely prevented. And having ſeriouſly weighed what remedies may be moſt properly applied to theſe growing diſtempers do in all humility preſent your majeſty with theſe our petitions.

"First, That, for the eſtabliſhment and quieting the poſſeſſions of your majeſty's ſubjects in that kingdom, your majeſty would be pleaſed to maintain the act of ſettlement and explanatory act thereupon, and to recall the commiſſions of enquiry into Iriſh affairs, bearing date the ſeventeenth day of January laſt, as containing many new and extraordinary powers, not only to the prejudice of particular perſons, whoſe eſtates and titles are thereby liable to be queſtioned: but, in a manner, to the overthrow of the acts of ſettlements, and, if purſued, may be the occaſion of great charge and attendance to many of your ſubjects in Ireland, and ſhake the peace and ſecurity of the whole.

"Secondly, That your majeſty would give orders, that no papiſt be either continued, or hereafter admitted to be judges, juſtices of peace, ſheriffs, coroners, or mayors, ſovereigns, or portreeves in that kingdom.

"Thirdly, That the titular popiſh archbiſhops, biſhops, vicars-general, abbots, and all others exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction by the pope's authority, (and in particular, Peter Talbot, pretended archbiſhop of Dublin; for his notorious diſloyalty to your majeſty, and contempt of your laws) may be commanded by proclamation forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all others of your majeſty's dominions, or otherwiſe to be proſecuted according to law. And that all convents, ſeminaries, and popiſh ſchools may be diſ-

ſolved

ſolved and ſuppreſſed, and the ſecular prieſts commanded to depart, under the like penalty.

"Fourthly, That no Iriſh papiſt be admitted to inhabit in any part of that kingdom, unleſs duly licenſed, according to the aforeſaid acts of ſettlement. And that your majeſty would be pleaſed to recal your letters of the twenty-ſixth of February, ſixteen hundred and ſeventy ſix, and the proclamation thereupon, whereby general licence is given to ſuch papiſts as inhabit in corporations there.

"Fifthly, That your majeſty's letters of the twenty-eighth of September, ſixteen hundred and ſeventy-two, and the order of council thereupon, whereby your ſubjects are required not to proſecute any actions againſt the Iriſh, for any wrongs or injuries committed during the laſt rebellion, may likewiſe be recalled."—

Yet, after all this deep-ſtrained policy, neither theſe petitioners, nor the ſtate itſelf could hinder the catholics from gaining ground inſenſibly, during the latter end of this reign; ſo ſeldom is it that oppreſſion anſwers the end it aims at; never indeed with a people of any conſideration, till their ſpirit is entirely broken, and all their internal ſtrength decayed, or till the chief among them are tranſplanted to other regions.——So indeed it fared with the Iriſh catholics, the hour of their final reduction was not yet come, and before that all attempts tending that way were worſe than uſeleſs, for they only ſerved an end directly contrary to that which they were intended to anſwer.—

Arthur, earl of Eſſex, was ſworn lord lieutenant in Auguſt, ſixteen hundred and ſeventy-two, and ſo continued till Auguſt, ſixteen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, when he was recalled, and

and James, duke of Ormond ſent over in his ſtead, in whoſe adminiſtration the noiſe which the extraordinary popiſh plot made in England, occaſioned, according to cuſtom, ſeveral new reſtraints to be put upon the innocent catholics in Ireland, all which only tended to make matters worſe; but the miniſtry being little liked by the people, thought proper to ſuffer them to amuſe themſelves with plots rather than buſy themſelves with ſuch enquiries into meaſures, as might not turn out altogether to their advantage.-- Papiſts were not only diſarmed as uſual, and titular archbiſhops, biſhops, vicars-general, and other dignitaries, commanded immediately to depart the kingdom by a certain time, and all catholic ſocieties, convents, ſeminaries; and ſchools, ordered to diſſolve themſelves; but the papiſts were forbidden entering any caſtle or walled towns, and prohibited meeting together even on or about matters that had no reference to religion or politics. A proclamation was alſo iſſued offering rewards to ſuch as would inform againſt any officers or ſoldiers who had been ſeen at maſs, and the moſt diligent ſearch commanded to be made for ſuch catholics ſhould not have tranſported themſelves according to the preceding proclamation. The friends and relations of tories were ordered to be ſeized and impriſoned until their acquaintance or kinsfolks were taken, inſomuch that every catholic ſtood in a manner accuſed for his neighbour, and even every proteſtant for his catholic relation. In ſhort, matters were carried ſo far, and ſo many uſeful perſons removed out of many of the trading towns by means of theſe oppreſſions, that the proteſtants themſelves were obliged to petition that they might be permitted to return, on account of the ſtagnation of trade and other public inconveniences which muſt otherwiſe

wiſe have followed, which laſt ſenſible procedure Sir Richard Cox is pleaſed to term *ſtupidity*, though certainly it was dictated by maxims of the ſoundeſt policy and right reaſon.

In the month of May, in the year ſixteen hundred and eighty-two, the lord lieutenant, paſſing over to England, left a lord deputy in his ſtead; and in the ſucceeding year a commiſſion of grace was iſſued to the chief governor, chancellor, high treaſurer, chancellor of the exchequer, the three chief judges, the maſter of the rolls, ſecretary of ſtate, the ſecond juſtice of the king's bench, and the two barons of the exchequer, to grant his majeſty's title to thoſe who were in poſſeſſion, and to grant manors and other privileges for a reaſonable time;—and by virtue hereof, a court called *The Court of Grace*, ſat at the king's inns; but this court was diſſolved by the death of the king, which happened the ſixth day of February, in the year ſixteen hundred and eighty-four, which event will occaſion us for a while to turn our eyes upon the adminiſtration of affairs in England.

Though few princes had been more popular than Charles during a few of the firſt years of his reign, yet the people, forgetting their profeſſions of loyalty to him, ſoon after altered their behaviour; and he too, on his part, forgetting the inconveniencies he had ſuffered, was ſometimes too remiſs in what concerned them. — Latterly the parliaments had been diſobliging, Charles therefore had reſolved to govern without them.—— The duke of York, as being a catholic, was become odious to the people, and many ſchemes were formed to get him excluded from the ſucceſſion to the crown, — which the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon, vainly hoped might devolve upon himſelf. In the mean time, the

the prince of Orange, who had married James's daughter, fomented theſe troubles in ſecret, hoping that he might one day turn them to advantage. Plots, pretended on the ſide of the papiſts, and real on that of the republicans, heart-burnings, and jealouſies, marked the latter end of Charles's reign, and imbittered the decline of his life. The duke of York, alternately baniſhed and recalled, was at length put at the head of affairs in Scotland, which he found means to manage with a high hand, impoſed new oaths, and new modelled the government of the kingdom, where nevertheleſs he was rather feared than beloved, and which, notwithſtanding all his power, ſerved but as a place when he ſuffered a mild and voluntary baniſhment from his brother's preſence, and from the court of England.

Things were in this ſituation when Charles the Second expired, who was a prince of ſome virtues and many fine accompliſhments, moſt of which however had contracted ſuch a ruſt by his negligence of them, and his attention to pleaſure rather than buſineſs, that, as a prince, he bore no very high character. He was, like all the Stuarts, ſtrongly attached to his prerogative, which attachment cauſed him much uneaſineſs, and occaſioned many to rank him as a tyrant; a name, however, that he did not deſerve, and to brand his memory with charges equally odious and falſe, and unworthy of his greatneſs---As a man, he poſſeſſed great good-nature, a lively wit, and a ſolid underſtanding; but he had one great failing, which both in public and private hurt him more than all his other faults put together, and this was a neglect of rewarding and diſtinguiſhing his friends, a neglect which though it might ariſe rather from fickleneſs than ingratitude, loſt him and his family the hearts of many thou-

ſands in the three kingdoms. On the whole, Charles was a prince of ſome parts, an accompliſhed and well meaning man, but a friend too fickle to be depended on.

Notwithſtanding all the attempts to exclude James, and though Charles himſelf but two days before his death had intended to recal his ſon and ſend his brother to Scotland; yet this latter, immediately upon his deceaſe, was proclaimed king of England, by the ſtyle and title of James the Second, delivered a popular ſpeech from the throne, and at firſt bade fair for reconciling the different parties to his government.

In Dublin likewiſe he was proclaimed, (as ſoon as the news of the late king's death reached that capital) to the great joy of the Iriſh catholics, who, ever ready to catch new hopes and new impreſſions, doubted not but that all things would go on to their minds, now they had a king of their own religion. The detail of exceſſes which they ran into on this occaſion is very probably much enlarged by Cox and other proteſtant writers, who even aver, "That the Iriſh [meaning the Iriſh papiſts] in the ſhort reign of king James, did commit more inſolencies on the Engliſh than theſe did on them in five hundred years paſt." However, it is very likely that men of their diſpoſition, who had lately been laid under ſuch reſtraints as I mentioned above, might be ready enough to run to extremes when they imagined that they were at the eve of having all power in their own hands, which actions of theirs in the end turned out to their own diſadvantage.

Amongſt other matters, the Iriſh, who in the former reign were the accuſed, now became the accuſers, and a great number of proteſtants, ſuſpected to be ill-affected to James, were indicted for

for treaſonable words and unlawful combinations, together with other ſuch offences, of which the major part were found Not Guilty.——Inſtead of deteſting thoſe meanneſſes of informers, by which they ſuffered, the catholics now became themſelves informers, and thus the ſtate ſeemed to have inſured its ſafety on either hand, one party acting perpetually as ſpies upon the other; but it ſhould be remembered that governments which require ſuch helps as theſe are like conſtitutions that muſt be perpetually drenched with doſes of violent phyſic, in too tottering a condition to be expected to laſt long; and this was indeed afterwards literally verified of the government of king James the Second, which had begun under ſuch unlucky auſpices.

On the laſt day of March, in ſixteen hundred and eighty-five, the duke of Ormond came to London, having reſigned the ſword of ſtate to the lord primate, and the earl of Granard, who were nominated lords juſtices, though the chief power was ſuppoſed to be veſted in the earl of Tyrconnel, who was lieutenant general of the army, and who had diſarmed the militia, and began to new model his troops, turning out many of the proteſtants whom he deemed not well affected to the king his maſter, and ſeeking by every means to keep on foot ſuch a body of faithful ſoldiers as might ſtand by him on any exigency, and help him effectually to execute any purpoſes he might wiſh to bring to bear in Ireland.——

But the earl of Clarendon arriving ſoon after as lord lieutenant, and Sir Charles Porter as lord chancellor, in a great meaſure checked the earl's deſigns, which notwithſtanding his poſt as lieutenant general, and a devoted army he could not ſo well bring about without being made chief go-

vernor of the kingdom. This was a ſtep, however, by no means too high for him to advance, and the court who proceeded rapidly in their alterations of government, were not long before they beſtowed the adminiſtration upon him in the quality of lord lieutenant, removing both his rivals.

The complaints againſt this nobleman's conduct, when he got the ſword of ſtate into his hands, are innumerable. Sir Richard Cox ſays, "He quickly turned the edge of it upon the proteſtants, who were amazed to ſee him act ſo openly, in ſo deſpotic and arbitrary a manner, for ſome of his agents not only diſbanded moſt part of the remaining Engliſh, but inſulted on their miſery by doing it reproachfully, and added to their affliction by turning them out far from their friends, and their habitations, and took away the cloaths of ſome, and the horſes and arms of others, without giving them any proportionable recompence; and he alſo changed the Iriſh ſoldiers ſo often that though the army did not conſiſt of above ſeven or eight thouſand men, yet five times that number (by theſe frequent changes) were taught the uſe of their arms; and by theſe means he had a conſiderable militia ready on all occaſions.——Moreover, he iſſued *quo warranto's* againſt all the charters at once; and although that procedure did manifeſt to the world that it was not the fault of any one or more corporations that was endeavoured to be puniſhed or reformed, but that it was a fixed deſign to ſubvert the corporations, and conſequently to model the parliament and the laws to the intereſt and humour of the papiſts. Yet being maſters of ſtanding armies both in England and Ireland, they thought themſelves ſure of their game, and that it would be more generous and brave if they acted

acted publicly, and as it were in defiance.—— Therefore they diſſembled the matter no longer, but appointed the popiſh judges in each court, that they might be ſure of a majority upon all occaſions; they alſo appointed popiſh high ſheriffs throughout the kingdom, and put ſo many papiſts into the commiſſion of peace, the privy council, and all places of authority, that they were able to rule all wherever they came. And as ſoon as the charters were condemned there were new ones granted, for the moſt part to ſuch inconſiderable perſons as were unable to pay for them; ſo that many were left with the attorney-general for his fees;——however, in all theſe charters they put in near one third Engliſh, moſt of which were quakers or other diſſenters, but at the ſame time took care to limit the power, (and eſpecially that of chuſing members of parliament) ſo that the Engliſh, if unanimous, ſhould not be able to give them any impediment."

So far Sir Richard Cox.—And indeed though that author may often be ſuſpected of exaggerating, he ſeems, from concurring teſtimonies to have come near to the truth in the above relations. A policy ſo abſurd and ſo precipitate in James could be dictated by nothing but the blindeſt zeal for his religion, the moſt egregious biggotry to the faith and intereſts of the Romiſh church, and could be equalled by nothing but the raſh meaſures of the ſame prince in England, where he ſeemed as it were to labour to loſe the hearts of ſuch as were his loyal ſubjects.

Engliſhmen have *often* been known to ſhew ſtriking proofs of their affection and attachment to princes; but they have *always* been found to exhibit a ſtill ſtronger to their laws and liberty; ſo that when theſe come in competition, the former

mer has always given way before the latter:—whenever any degree of power was lodged in the hands of the people, or even of the nobles to aſſert them.——Hence it was, that though many from an affection to their ancient line of princes, were ready enough to ſupport James againſt the excluſioners, and to aſſiſt him when his own blood rebelled againſt him, yet when they ſaw him about to bring in a new religion by his own arbitary will, and to aſſume a power of diſpenſing with the laws eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, they abandoned him without pity or remorſe, and were better pleaſed to acquieſce under the government of an alien, and a foreigner, than to ſuffer ſuch a monarch any longer to rule over them.

The duke of Monmouth taking advantage of the height to which party-diſputes ran in England, raiſed an inſurrection in the weſt, and attacked the king's troops that were ſent to oppoſe him, under the conduct of the earl of Feverſham with great fury; but after an obſtinate engagement, victory declared in favour of the royaliſts, the duke's new raiſed levies were routed; and ſome days afterwards he himſelf was taken priſoner. James had admitted him to his preſence, but finding him averſe to making ſuch conceſſions as it was thought proper to demand of him, the captive was conveyed back to the tower, and afterwards executed upon a public ſcaffold; and the prince of Orange, who, without ſeeming to take a part in theſe troubles had privately fomented them, now ſaw himſelf rid of a rival to the pretenſions of his princeſs, on the one hand, whilſt on the other he beheld the Engliſh nation ripe for the commencement of commotions, which, it is probable, he had penetration

tration enough to diſcern he might one day be called to appeaſe.

In the mean time, James thought himſelf ſecurely fixed upon the throne by his arms againſt Monmouth, with whom he fondly imagined fell the ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. But herein he was moſt egregiouſly deceived; for the fate of that nobleman and the cruelties committed on his followers by general Kirk and judge Jeffreys, ſerved but to irritate the people, and they only waited the firſt opportunity to convince the king how much they were inclined to revenge theſe i[illegible]wever, ſeemed to have a ſhort dav[illegible], the parliaments of England and Scotland profeſſed to be devoted to him; nay, the latter in an act they paſſed, avered, "That the bleſſings they enjoyed were owing to ſolid, abſolute authority with which kings were inveſted, and expreſſed their abhorence of all principles which were contrary or derogatory to the king's ſacred, ſupreme, abſolute power, and authority."

Yet all this was but a ſhort-lived blaze of glory. The king in the heighth of his exultation took advantage of theſe ſucceſſes to introduce catholics into offices of truſt and power, civil and military, and finding the parliament was bent not to acknowledge his diſpenſing power in ſuch a caſe, he was reſolved to prorogue it, and proceed without them. His next ſtep was to diſpute with the univerſity of Oxford concerning its privileges. Then he ordered the clergy to read a public indulgence of diſſenters from the church of England, on which ſix biſhops petitioning againſt it, were by his command ſent to the tower, but being afterwards tried for a ſeditious libel were acquitted.—And thus proceeded from one raſh action to another, till his enemies finding all things ripe for their pur-

poſe, ſtimulated the heads of the people to call in William prince of Orange, his ſon-in law, to redreſs their grievances.

James about the ſame time was preſſed by Louis the Fourteenth to admit of the aſſiſtance of a French fleet and army to preſerve his authority, which offer he was ſo obſtinate as to refuſe, for fear of loſing the confidence of his people, which it was eaſy to perceive was loſt already. Nothing was more true than that the Stuarts never were nor knew how to be complete tyrants. Had the prince in queſtion poſſeſſed either the ſubtlety or ambition of a tyrant, in effect had he been well read in king-craft, he would have perceived that after what had happened there were no meaſures to be kept between him and ſuch a people as the Engliſh, and that from the moment the two parties come to ſuch an open and avowed diſpute of power and obedience, one or other of them muſt begin to ſink in the ſcale of fortune. On this account it would certainly have been a piece of policy in him to have accepted the proferred aid of Louis (which certainly had ſomething in it beyond the mere policy of princes) and then to have thrown the odium of firſt ſoliciting foreign ſuccours back upon the people from whom he now had ſo little to expect. Such would have been the meaſures of one thoroughly read in Machiavel, which I have only hinted at here in order to ſupport the maxim, "That none of the Stuarts ever knew how to be complete tyrants, and that even James was not arrived at that character though he certainly approached the neareſt to it of all the four."

This infatuated prince ſtill purſuing his imprudent courſes, now beheld the whole nation ready to riſe up againſt him together as one man.

man. He kept a body of ſoldiers that formed a ſtanding army; but even theſe ſhewed their diſpleaſure at his endeavouring to abrogate the teſts. It was in vain that he had recourſe to the diſſenters, in truſting to them he leaned upon a broken reed, while every ſucceeding day ſeemed big with ſome new misfortune.

——The prince of Orange had ſet ſail from Holland, and though long detained by contrary winds, and even once driven back again, at length obtained a proſperous gale which landed at Torbay, whilſt it kept the Engliſh veſſels blocked up in their harbours. James and his court were ſtruck with a panic terror when they heard the news, friend after friend and ſervant after ſervant deſerted the unhappy king. Yet making one effort to riſe beneath oppreſſion, he went to his army, at whoſe head if they proved faithful he reſolved to conquer or die. But alas! he was here once more baffled. The lord Cornbury, his chief favourite colonel Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and other great perſons went over to the prince of Orange, and almoſt all the officers in general ſeemed ill-diſpoſed to his cauſe.

In the mean time William, who knew that no time was to be loſt, proceeded on his march towards the capital, whilſt James found himſelf abandoned on all hands (Louis having taken offence at the refuſal of the French troops, being ſeemed reſolved to leave him to his fate) In this dilemma a body of Iriſh ſoldiers had been called over, a meaſure as odious as that of admitting French ones would have been at the ſame time that it was by no means efficacious; for theſe proving ſucceſsleſs, ſerved only to irritate the people whom they could not ſubdue.

In

In the midſt of the diſputes with the biſhops, the queen had been brought to bed; as thoſe prelates were in the tower who ought to have been preſent at the birth of the prince of Wales, it was immediately reported abroad that a falſe prince was impoſed upon the people. Abſurd as this ſcandal was there were not wanting thouſands to believe it; James therefore, when his troubles increaſed, took the reſolution of ſending before him into France his royal conſort, and this young prince to whom he had no expectations that the Engliſh would ſhew any mark of favour or attachment, having given them his promiſe that he himſelf would ſoon follow them to the place of their retreat, if things did not change for the better in England.——He was ſoon convinced that they would not, and at laſt his favourite daughter the princeſs Anne and moſt of thoſe in whom he placed his laſt reſorts having left him, he attempted to quit the kingdom, but was for the firſt time prevented; however afterwards when the prince of Orange ſent his guards at midnight to deſire the king to leave his palace and repair to Ham, he would ſuffer no reſiſtance to be made, but only demanded to retire to Rocheſter, which was accordingly granted. From thence he embarked at length on board a ſmall veſſel, which carried him in ſafety to France.

James being thus retired, the lords and commons after much wrangling and diſputing, at length voted that he had abdicated the crown, which they meant at firſt to have conferred [illegible] princeſs Mary his daughter alone, but William now [illegible] ſhewing what his deſigns were, gave them to underſtand that he would not hold any power dependant either on James or his daughter.—— Therefore they found themſelves neceſſitated to confer

confer the royal ſtate jointly upon him and his conſort, veſting all the executive power in him alone, who had wrought ſo artfully to maintain it, and would not now be diſappointed.

Thus did the prince of Orange at laſt mount the Britiſh throne, amidſt the good wiſhes of many, the execrations of ſome, but the doubts and fears of all. That prince was poſſeſſed of too much penetration to ſuppoſe he ſhould immediately be quietly poſſeſſed of his dominions. He foreſaw that the old partiſans of James would not fail to give him uneaſineſs. He had experienced ſo much of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh already as led him to think that even thoſe who had diſapproved of the king's conduct, and oppoſed him during his proſperity, might yet be wrought upon to pity and aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs. He therefore took all thoſe methods which prudence ſuggeſted to him to ſecure England and Scotland, yet, in the midſt of all his policy, he neglected to purſue thoſe meaſures in Ireland, from motives of conduct which it is hard to unravel. Whatever theſe were, it left ſo fair an opening for James to make an attempt upon the country, as he was reſolved not to let ſlip, he therefore left his retreat in France, and at the head of about two thouſand five hundred Britiſh and Iriſh ſoldiers, landed in Ireland. A. D. 1688. William III

Here he found that Tyrconnel had done all that was in his power to promote his intereſt, having kept his old army ſteady, and likewiſe raiſed a new one for his ſervice, both which together amounted to no leſs than thirty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, all the kingdom (the province of Ulſter only excepted) being in obedience to him. —— Colonel Hamilton who had previouſly broken his faith to William, was employed to reduce thoſe who were in rebellion and Dalrymple's memoirs.

and driving them from place to place, at laſt moſt completely routed them at Drummore, after which the braveſt yet remaining amongſt them drew together, to the number of ten thouſand round Londonderry, whilſt the reſt more timid ſkulked about in holes and corners, or fled to England or Scotland to hide themſelves.

With ſo good a proſpect of ſucceſs, James would have been likely to have attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, if he would have lent an ear to prudent advice. The lord Dundee, a nobleman of great valour and prudence, who united in his perſon the ſpirit of an ancient hero with all the fine accompliſhments of a gentleman, preſſed his ſovereign to embark with a conſiderable part of his army for Scotland, in which country there were no regular troops, excepting only four regiments that king William had lately ſent thither, where his preſence might fix the wavering, and overawe the timid, and where, as he urged, hoſts of ſhepherds would ſtart up warriors at the firſt waving of his banner upon the mountains. From England by ſome who had been with him in Ireland, he was adviſed to repair directly to England with all his forces. Theſe men wiſely argued, "That it was in vain for him to conſume time in completing the conqueſt of a country, nine tenths of which he had already under his dominion, and which nature itſelf ſeemed to have decreed ſhould always follow the fortune of England. The gain that would acrue from bringing the remainder of Ireland under ſubjection was juſtly repreſented as trifling; whilſt if the attempt ſhould fail, the diſgrace in ſuch a caſe would render the loſs important.—— In the preſent unſettled ſtate of things, while France threatened, while England was in open diſcontent, while Scotland was ready to burſt out

into

into a flame; whilſt the Iriſh were prepared to ſhed their beſt blood in his ſervice, now was the time to ſhake a throne uſurped and unſettled, and to overwhelm a people that always trembled at the firſt report of an invaſion, but gathered ſtrength ſpirit, and union to oppoſe it when long delayed. They ſaid if he ſhould fail of ſucceſs, it would be more glorious for him to fail in one great conteſt, or even to fall in the heart of his kingdom, in the eyes of his native ſubjects, pitied and reſpected as he would then be, even by thoſe that conquered him, than to wage war at a diſtance like a fugitive, waſting the provinces, and weakening the ſtrength of his country."

But all theſe arguments proved inſufficient to engage James to truſt himſelf in Ireland, where if he went to the highlanders, thoſe whom he favoured moſt perſuaded him that then his conqueſts would be barren, whilſt his troops would melt away from him, overcome by famine and fatigue, as they wandered from hill to hill like the miſts of the country.—And if, on the other hand, he repaired to the territories of the low-land Scotch, he would have to deal with a ſet of them whoſe anceſtors had betrayed his royal father, and who while they were contending againſt their king, imagined they were fighting for their God.

Such reaſoning, weak and inconcluſive as it was, prevailed; James after having called a parliament to meet him at Dublin, ſet off early in the ſpring, with the deſign of completing the conqueſt of Ulſter by the reduction of Londonderry.—Some of the Iriſh writers pretend, that the townſmen had offered to ſurrender on terms to general Hamilton, before his maſter's approach, who when he became acquainted with the tenor of them, refuſed to agree to what the general had already ratified; a circumſtance which, they ſay, Geoghegan.

ſay, accounts for the obſtinate defence the garriſon made. If this account be not true, (as the Engliſh, who ought to know beſt ſay) it is really ſtrange the Iriſh ſhould throw ſuch a ſlur upon king James as to aſſert it; but that the reader may judge for himſelf, I will here inſert the Engliſh account as given by a modern writer of great judgement and perſpicuity.

Dalrymple's Memoirs.

" Amidſt the difficulties (ſays he) which William had to find officers whom he could truſt, he had appointed colonel Lundie to be governor of Londonderry, a man whoſe fidelity was ſo little known, that the officer ſent to him from England with the ſtores of war, was ordered not to deliver his charge until Lundrie had taken the oaths in his preſence to the new government. This governor, having been once one of Tyrconnel's officers, had ſeemingly quitted the intereſts of king James only, in reality with a view to ſerve them more effectually. As that prince's army advanced towards Londonderry, he abandoned paſs after paſs, ſometimes with feeble, and ſometimes with no defence; and at laſt, upon the thirteenth day of April, took refuge in the town.

" Two days before king James could overtake Lundie, two regiments under the command of the colonels Richard and Cunningham, arrived in the lake which communicates between the ſea and the town. Their orders being diſcretionary, to land the troops or not, they offered to join Lundie, who wrote them an ambiguous anſwer, in one part of his letter deſiring them to land the troops committed to their charge, and in another part of it telling them that the place was not tenable, referring them for farther particulars to the officer who brought the letter; and *he* delivered them orders not to land the

the troops, but to come into the town themſelves ſome with of their officers, in order to attend a council of war. To this council which Lundie had ſummoned, he painted the ſituation of affairs in a moſt dreadful light, aſſerting that, to his own particular knowledge, beſides a ſcarcity of military ſtores and ammunition, there were not proviſions even for ten days in the town. The council hereupon came to a reſolution, (which was oppoſed only by Richard) of not landing the troops, and alſo determined that all the officers ſhould privately withdraw themſelves from the town. The two colonels then with ſome of their officers returned to their ſhips, and Lundie afterwards calling a meeting of the town-council, it was reſolved to ſend meſſengers to king James with an offer to ſurrender the town the next day.

" It had been intended to keep the reſult of theſe councils ſecret, but the town-clerk, who had been admitted to a ſhare of them, communicated them to an aſſembled multitude, on which both they and many of the ſoldiers of the garriſon cried out that they were betrayed, roſe in fury againſt the governor, reviled the town council, and ſhot the officers. Hence aroſe the higheſt uproar and diviſion; for while ſome were framing the terms of ſurrender, others were planting guns on the walls. In one place the people were preſſed to yield to neceſſity; in another voices were heard calling to fire upon thoſe who made ſuch a propoſal.

" During this ſtate of public diſtraction, James was ſlowly advancing with his army to take poſſeſſion of a town which had ſent meſſengers to receive him; whilſt, on the oppoſite ſide captain Murray, a brave officer, was coming up with all ſpeed to prevent the ſurrender. Lundie ſent him orders to retire from the view of the inhabitants;

bitants; but great numbers ſtretching forth their arms and bodies from the walls, and calling upon him by name, and upon all his followers whom they knew, to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In broken ſpeeches he called to the multitude, who ſurrounded him as ſoon as he paſſed the gate, to remember glory, ſafety, their religion, their country, themſelves, their poſterity, with other topics which natural paſſion dictated, or the preſent exigency required. He pointed to different perſons, to ſecure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns; He directed all thoſe whoſe voices were for defending the town to diſtinguiſh themſelves by tying a white cloth round their left arms. From thence he haſtened to Lundie then ſitting in council, whom he tried but in vain to ſooth with flattery, or rouſe by reproaches. In the mean time the multitude ruſhed to obey the orders they had received, fired upon king James, killed an officer by his ſide, and obliged him to retire."

So that, according to this account, which is the moſt probable, James was not guilty of the breach of honour that ſome of thoſe who have written in other reſpects partially in his favour would infer. The contradictory behaviour of the people, who were of two parties, occaſioned it; and that which prevailed in the end, proved ſufficiently capable of ſupporting what they had done, though even they were ſtruck with a deep concern after the firſt hurry of their ſpirits was over, when they had reflected what they had done, and what they had to expect if the king's troops ſhould prevail. But cuſtom by degrees wore off theſe terrors, and they reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity; though the officers and the regiments returned to England,

and

and Lundie found means to quit the town in diſguiſe, when he found all his endeavours to ſerve the unfortunate James had miſcarried.

That prince's army amounted to near * twenty thouſand men, as the Engliſh writers ſay; but they were not all well armed, or effective; however it might have been expected that a much leſs number ſhould have been able to reduce a town which was defended only by about ſeven thouſand five hundred militia, and was not well provided with warlike ſtores, ſtill worſe with neceſſary proviſions.

Major Baker was choſen governor by the inhabitants, after the departure of colonel Lundie, and deſiring a colleague in his office, as religion was one of the principal motives aſſigned for their oppoſition, they choſe one Walker to aſſiſt him, who, though a clergyman, was by no means of that meek and peaceable diſpoſition which cauſes men to ſit down tamely under injuries done them by their equals, or to ſubmit in every thing to the will of the higher powers. He cooperated vigorouſly with Baker for the defence of the town, and moſt of the inhabitants poſſeſſing the old ſpirit of enthuſiaſm of the Ulſter Scotch, drew happy preſages from this extraordinary union of the gown and the ſword. Theſe men formed both the garriſon and the townſmen into a number of regiments proportioned to the baſtions, and to create emulation, different parts of the works were peculiarly given in charge to certain different regiments. Having repaired their fortifications and mounted their guns, they gave the beſiegers a briſk reception. They repulſed

* Some of the Iriſh writers mention only ten thouſand employed in this ſiege, though they allow that after raiſing it, twenty thouſand repaired to James at Drogheda; but I have followed the Engliſh account, as in my opinion far the more probable of the two.

them from their lines, they made havoc of them in frequent ſallies, and harraſſed them with perpetual alarms. In all theſe expeditions the command was offered to any officer who would undertake it, a method, which though it might be diſapproved of by thoſe attached to the ſtrict rules of war, was yet very properly adapted to theſe irregular forces, whoſe ſucceſs it was evident muſt depend rather on their ardour than their diſcipline; a method too which perhaps might often be practiſed with ſucceſs even by regulars, as ſallies moſtly depend upon the vivacity with which they are conducted, and are generally calculated to ſurpriſe an unguarded rather than to attack a provided enemy. Murray indeed attepmted carrying theſe maxims ſtill farther, and he was in the right, conſidering whom he was to addreſs himſelf to. He uſed to fly from man to man, exciting ardour in their boſoms as occaſion was, either to defend the works or to annoy the beſiegers. At ſuch times he uſed to tell them "That it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movement of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, that made ſoldiers, but ſtrong bodies, ſtronger minds, the contempt of dangers and of death; or that if, in regular fields of battle, diſciplined troops had the advantage, yet that advantage was uſeleſs here, where the defenders fought behind walls, a ſituation in which thoſe who could bear the moſt fatigue, and durſt ſtand longeſt at their poſts, muſt, in the end, prevail in the conteſt." That the enthuſiaſm of religion might be added to that of courage, Walker uſed to promiſe the ſoldiers who died in battle upon theſe occaſions a ſure reception into heaven, pointing firſt to their churches, then to the ſky: Theſe were the holy tunes from which their enemies were to drive them

Dalrymple's Memoirs.

them, if they ſurvived, with diſgrace.—"*That* was the aſylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory in his cauſe." It was no wonder that men whoſe paſſions, were they wrought upon, ſhould make an obſtinate defence; all the wonder appeared that the Iriſh, who ſeemed to have as powerful motives of religion, and ſtill more powerful ſupports, and who neither wanted for officers nor prieſts to encourage them, ſhould not have reduced this rabble of war. But the Iriſh, not being ſo much diſtreſſed, were neither ſo firmly united, nor reduced to ſuch ſtrong neceſſity, to exert their utmoſt efforts for their ſafety.

While theſe things were paſſing, admiral Herbert attacked the French fleet near Bantry bay, but was defeated by them, and the latter having made good a diſembarkation they had in charge, returned victorious to their own country. —— When James was told his countrymen had been thus defeated by the French, he exclaimed, "It is the firſt time then!"---one of thoſe ſpeeches for which ſome people may admire his generoſity; but conſidering the Frenchmen he had with him, and the hopes he reſted upon that nation, every man of reflexion muſt condemn him for his folly.

But the Engliſh, amidſt all their ill ſucceſſes, and the diſtractions occaſioned by them at home, did not deſpair. There is no nation like them for the happy facility with which they can turn a defeat to a triumph. In this caſe, William knowing their temper, and believing they had not behaved ill, went down to viſit the fleet when it came to Portſmouth, dined with the admiral on board his ſhip, and knighted him for his ſervices. In effect, he praiſed thoſe whom he knew it was to no purpoſe to blame; he

perſuaded them that they had defeated the enemy, and they readily believed him.

As the defence of Londonderry was much talked of in England, general Kirk was ſent out to aſſiſt the beſieged, and arrived in the lake of Derry on the thirteenth day of June.

" Upon the ſight of his fleet which conſiſted of thirty ſail, the beſieged gave the uſual ſalutations of joy. But perceiving them received with ſilence, and no jovial returns made by the ſeamen; they looked upon each other with foreboding eyes. Soon after they were informed that Kirk upon receiving information that the paſſage of the river to the town was ſecured by works, had reſolved to retire to the Inch, an iſland ſix miles from Londonderry.

" Theſe works were batteries along the banks, veſſels ſunk in the channel, and a boom which had been thrown acroſs the river, and which was defended by two forts; and all theſe were reported to be much ſtronger than they were. Upon theſe ſad news the beſieged made ſignals of diſtreſs from their ſteeples to Kirk, but in vain. After a ſhort ſtay, he ſet ſail, the inhabitants of the town following his ſhips with their eyes as long as they could perceive them. Kirk choſe the Inch for ſtation, becauſe it facilitated the junction of the volunteers who lay at Iniſkilling with his detachment; and for that reaſon too he fortified it. From thence he ſent a letter to the townſmen, aſſuring them, in terms full of affection, that every thing in Scotland, England, and Ireland were proſperous, and that ſuccours beyond their wiſhes were ſpeedily to join them; yet he concluded with giving them in charge to huſband well their proviſions; a letter more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy.

But

But the beſieged, though in a deſperate condition, did not give themſelves up to deſpair: not contented with making ſallies and defending the old works of the place, they even advanced new ones, and became expert in fortification and mining, by imitating the arts which were employed againſt them. The women attended every ſervice, animating the men by their cries, and often aſſiſting them with their hands. All the ſpare time of the garriſon and of the inhabitants was ſpent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet it was ſtrange, amidſt the union created by common danger, to ſee religious diviſions break forth. The conformiſts and nonconformiſts inſiſted each to have poſſeſſion of the cathedral, nor could mutual ſlaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed that the one claſs ſhould attend ſervice in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. About the middle of June, when the weather proved ſultry, diſeaſes at laſt ſeized them, cooped up in a narrow place. They buried fifteen officers in one day. Baker their governor died. Yet even death in this form more dreadful than in that of war, diſmayed them not. Their proviſions being ſpent they preſerved life by eating horſe-fleſh, tallow, ſtarch, ſalted hides, impure animals, and roots of vegetables, &c. When their cannon-ball was nearly ſpent, they made uſe of bricks, covered with lead. In this ſituation general Hamilton preſſed them to ſurrender upon conditions that were reaſonable. Their anſwer conſiſted in aſking, "If he thought they could truſt one who had betrayed the truſt which their maſter had put in him?"

"James tired with the tedioufneſs of the ſiege, and alarmed at Kirk's arrival, ſent mareſchal

Roſen his commander in chief, in the end of June to urge matters with more vigour.

" Roſen having more knowledge in the art of attacking places than the Iriſh generals, changed the diſpoſitions, inveſted the place more cloſely and made many furious but ineffectual aſſaults. At length, provoked by the valour of the garriſon, inſtead of honouring it, he took a ſtep unparalelled in modern ages: He gave orders that all the inhabitants ten miles round Londonderry ſhould be driven under the walls of the town: he ordered the country to be burned, he proclaimed that if the town did not ſurrender before ten days were elapſed, that all the inhabitants ſhould be put to the ſword: five thouſand, or as other writers relate, ſeven thouſand miſerable wretches, who were collected from the country around; men, women, the old, the young, even the ſick, and nurſes with infants hanging on the breaſt, all were driven with drawn ſwords under the walls of the town. This device weakened the ſpirit of James's army by its horror, and ſtrengthened thoſe of the beſieged by turning a ſedate into a furious valour. Many of the priſoners called to their friends on the walls above them, — To attend to their own intereſt, not theirs. For that a ſurrender to men void of all Chriſtian humanity, could not ſave thoſe who were without, and would only involve thoſe who were within in one common ſlaughter."— The Iriſh officers executed their orders againſt their countrymen, weeping and obeying; and many of them owned that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears. The beſieged on the other hand erecting a gibbet on the baſtion neareſt the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever priſoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the enemy to ſend prieſts to confeſs

feſs them.——During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Roſen's reſentment continued at the foot of the walls without meat, drink, fire, or ſhelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, ſuch of them as were able to go away were permitted to do ſo. But thoſe who died were the moſt fortunate; for others filled with the ſeeds of diſeaſes, and with dejection, as they wandered homewards, beheld on all ſides their habitations in aſhes, here and there at diſtances the ſmoke of ſome not extinguiſhed, their cattle, furniture, and proviſions carried off. A vaſt ſilence reigned over the land; and they envied their companions who were at reſt from their miſeries. It would be inhuman to the memory of the unhappy to impute the diſgrace of this action to James.—He revoked the order as ſoon as he heard of it, becauſe his own ſufferings had probably taught him to feel for that of others."

"Kirk in the mean time (ſays the ſame author) heard the cries and ſaw the fires, though enraged, yet perhaps not diſpleaſed to ſee his own character for cruelty exceeded. At laſt, receiving intelligence that the garriſon, ſunk with fatigues, had ſent propoſals of capitulation, and that they had proviſions only for two days, he reſolved upon an attempt to throw a convoy of proviſions into the place by means of three victualling ſhips, and a man of war to cover them. An attempt upon the ſucceſs of which it was obvious to all the loſs or deliverance of the town could not fail to depend.

"As ſoon as theſe veſſels approached the town, upon the thirtieth of July, the Iriſh army haſtened to that ſide; ſome to oppoſe them, and the reſt to gratify their curioſity. That part of the gar-

riſon which was not upon duty ranged themſelves along the walls near the river, with eyes intent, and hands lifted up to Heaven for the ſucceſs of the convoy. Kirk had been deceived in the ſtrength of the enemies works. The ſhip of war too, by galling the batteries drew their fire upon itſelf, and thus ſaved the victuallers from the danger. The foremoſt of the latter at the firſt ſtroke broke the boom; but ran aground by the turn which this gave to her courſe. A ſhout burſt from the beſiegers as from the mouth of one man, which ecchoed to the ſhips, the camp, and the town. Multitudes of them quitting their ranks flew to the ſhore, and plunged into the water. Some puſhed off with their hands the boats they found there, others leaped into them; all advanced or called to advance againſt the veſſel in diſtreſs. The ſmoke of the enemy's fire and of her own covered her from the ſight of the beſieged. During this darkneſs and confuſion, the beſiegers called out from the oppoſite ſide of the river, that the veſſel was taken. A ſhrill cry of miſery, like the wailing of women was heard from the walls. The common paleneſs of fear appeared not upon men who had loſt all ſenſe of it. For one who was an eye-witneſs relates, that in the depth of deſpair they looked black in the eyes of each other. But in a little time the victualler was ſeen emerging from the ſmoke, having got off by the rebound of her guns; and ſhe and her followers amidſt the tumultuous cries of both parties ſailed up to the town, and the next day they raiſed the ſiege, after having continued it for three whole months, and one half of the fourth."

The garriſon was found to be reduced by ſickneſs, famine, and the ſword, to about five thouſand men, a thouſand of whom were unfit for ſervice,

ſervice, and the reſt ſo ſtrangely altered in their looks and geſtures that their moſt intimate friends could ſcarcely have known them again. Of the other inhabitants of the town about ſeven thouſand periſhed, the ſurviving relations of whom doubtleſs could not help reflecting that the brave defence for which the prevailing party were now ſo much honoured and reſpected, had yet been the means of ſhortening the date of theſe poor creatures, and ſweeping them untimely off from the face of the earth.

But whatever were the ſentiments of particular perſons, the body of the proteſtants ſeemed to rejoice, and certainly gathered new ſtrength from the news of this ſucceſs of the people of Londonderry, and in conſequence they every where made the greateſt efforts to imitate their example, and to check the progreſs of a prince whom they had never loved, and whom they now choſe no longer to regard as their ſovereign, At this time a party of Inniſkillingers, under the command of colonel Wolſey, ~~they~~ are ſaid to have defeated ſix thouſand of Tyrconnel's Iriſh troops at Newton Butler, the commander of which would not ſurrender till being terribly wounded, he could ſtand no longer, and even then all his fear was leaſt thoſe wounds ſhould not prove mortal, a remarkable example of valour to his party, who began to be ſomewhat diſcouraged in Ireland.

The Iriſh parliament meeting at Dublin being compoſed moſtly of papiſts, reverſed the act of ſettlement, and the act of attainder, both which at that time were very impolitic meaſures, but as they had reſolved to proceed upon a plan exactly contrary to that of the proteſtants, they were determined to proceed in it, although the lords

lords lieutenants and judges had declared the intention of their prince to ſupport the act of ſettlement;---while the act of attainder ſeemed as if calculated on purpoſe to raiſe up to James new enemies, and to confirm the hatred of his old ones.

Among thoſe attainted were two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, twenty-eight viſcounts, two viſcounteſſes, ſeven biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen, and near three thouſand other perſons of inferior quality. Many of theſe had reſidence in England or Scotland, and were only attainted for not repairing immediately to James, when he iſſued a proclamation commanding all his Iriſh ſubjects to leave England, when, as there was an embargo between the two kingdoms it was impoſſible they ſhould have complied. Many other acts were afterwards paſſed, and ordinances enacted, that were equally imprudent, ſome of which the king oppoſed, but in vain; and he ſoon found himſelf equally alarmed by diviſions among his friends, on the one hand, and the news of the vigorous preparations of his enemies for attacking him on the other.

Thus were James's firſt deſigns in many reſpects in a manner fruſtrated in Ireland. In the field, the circumſtance of the raiſing the ſiege of Londonderry, gave occaſion even to his friends to draw from it an ill omen of the future event of the war. Baffled as his troops had been before a place which was by no means conſiderable, there was not a great likelihood they would be ever able to ſtand before thoſe ſuperior forces, with whoſe ſtrength they were ſoon deſtined to cope;---and all men of ſound judgement foreſaw that

that the proceedings of the council were not better regulated. — An alarming ſituation, in which to remain under the apprehenſion of the attacks of a formidable enemy.

But while theſe things were paſſing in Ireland, the lord Dundee was not idle in promoting his maſter's cauſe in Scotland;—aconvention having been called in the capital of that country, once ſo ſubmiſſive, it was agreed after ſome debates to cloſe with the prince of Orange. Dundee (and the duke of Gordon who held the caſtle of Edinburgh for James, influenced by him) diſturbed the proceedings of this aſſembly as much as poſſible. Whereupon they raged violently, and even proclaimed the latter a traitor under the walls of his caſtle. Then Dundee urged him to fire upon the town, but not being able to perſuade him to any violent meaſures, taking occaſion from ſome perſonal affronts he had received, he himſelf withdrew with a party of horſe, in order, as he ſaid, to go "wherever the ſpirit of the great Montroſe ſhould direct him," and firmly reſolved to light ſuch a flame of war amidſt the barren hills of the north, as might ſpread terror and deſtruction over all the country.

It was in this ſituation of things, that this gallant nobleman preſſed his maſter to embark for Scotland, an influence which he declined; but ſent a promiſe of aid to his faithful adherents; who proceeded ſtill increaſing his army, rouſing the highlanders to arms, and every where diſperſing or over-awing the militia which was gathering together againſt him. The lord Murray ſon of lord Athol having raiſed a body of a thouſand men upon his father's eſtate, and that of lord Lovat, who was married to his ſiſter, under a promiſe of uſing their ſervices for their old maſter, but in reality with an intent to de-

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coy them to the aſſiſtance of the new king; while Murray was reviewing theſe recruits, they ſuddenly quitted their poſts, filled their banners with water from a neighbouring ſtream, drank to king James's health; and, with pipes playing, deſerted to the lord Dundee, who was the idol of their countrymen.

In order to cruſh this great captain, general Mackay was ſent after him with a ſtrong body of troops, whom his adverſary had orders not to engage, till he ſhould receive aſſiſtance from Ireland, which after long waiting for at laſt arrived; but were neither in number or quality ſuch as he had been encouraged to expect.—— However Mackay advancing towards the paſs of Killikranky, which was a road between high mountains. Dundee being reſolved to fight him, abandoned that advantageous poſt, and partly to encourage his highlanders by the boldneſs of the reſolution, and partly to render the defeat of his enemies, if it ſhould take place, more complete, he ſuffered them to march through the ſtrait without oppoſition; and afterwards delayed coming to a battle till about half an hour before ſunſet; when, placing all his ſtrength in the wings of his army, ruſhing down from the hills, he charged thoſe of the enemy with ſuch fury that their extended lines were forced to give way before his heavy columns; and thus almoſt all miſſiles being uſeleſs, the highlanders with their broad ſwords falling in pell-mell upon their enemies ſoon put them to a ſhameful rout; only one regiment and the half of another retreating in good order, the reſt of the army abandoning themſelves to flight, which would little have availed them, incumbered as they were in the ſtraits, if the gallant Dundee, having outgone his regiments in purſuit of the fugitives, had not been mortally wounded

mortally wounded with a muſket ball, as he was exciting his men to prevent them from eſcaping. Fainting and falling from his horſe, when he recovered, he aſked, "How things were?" Being told, "All was well," "Then (ſaid he) I am well!" and immediately expired.

This battle coſt his enemies two thouſand men killed, and five hundred wounded; the reſt diſperſed of their own accord, and Mackay himſelf was only ſaved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay to the weſtward of the paſs, while the highlanders were employed in plundering the baggage of the Engliſh army.—

William, who had ſo long neglected Ireland, now turned his views in earneſt towards the reduction of that country. He cauſed twenty-three new regiments to be raiſed in England, joining them with two battalions of Dutchmen and four of French refugees, which, together with ſome regiments from Scotland, and a body of ſix thouſand mercenary Danes, he reſolved to ſend over to oppoſe James, under the conduct of mareſchal Schomberg, to whom count Solmes was ſecond in command.

But when the former was arrived at Cheſter, he found ſcarcely any thing in the order he expected: ſome of the regiments were not come up, others were ill diſpoſed to a regular command, and many conſiſted of ſuch as had not the leaſt idea of a proper uſe of their weapons. There was not a ſufficient number of veſſels got ready to tranſport the ſoldiers, nor was due care taken relative to the quantity and quality of the cloaths and proviſions neceſſary for ſuch an expedition.

However, after having waited for twenty-two days at Cheſter, the mareſchal ſet ſail with ſuch a force as he could well draw together, and provide for, amounting in the whole to about ten thouſand men, and landing in the bay of Carrick-

Carrickfergus, on the twelfth day of Auguſt he laid ſiege to the place, which was garriſoned with two thouſand five hundred men, and took it within four days.

From Carrickfergus he proceeded to march his army to Dundalk, near which place, when they had arrived, after experiencing much hardſhip in a rainy ſeaſon and a deſerted country, he reſolved to halt there, and waited for ten days in expectation of the remainder of the army levied in England, joining or at leaſt of his receiving ſome ſupplies of men, money, or proviſions from Scotland or Denmark.

When mareſchal Roſen, who had aſſembled the Iriſh forces at Drogheda, heard that Schomberg had ſtopped, he ſaid, "Then he was ſure the mareſchal wanted Schomberg, and being then within ſix miles of Dundalk, he ordered his troops to quit their ſtations and garriſons, and advance towards that place; whereupon Schomberg, being apprehenſive of an attack, intrenched himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, from whence he was reſolved no art of the enemy ſhould draw him to combat in the open field.

He had indeed, by theſe means, provided for the ſecurity of his army againſt the danger of an unequal fight; but there was another danger which he could not ſo eaſily guard againſt: cooped up within the limits of their camp, devoid of exerciſe, and much incommoded by the low and damp ſituation of the place, ſickneſs ſoon began to make havoc amongſt them, which was increaſed by the reception of ſome troops from the infected town of Londonderry, who brought thoſe miſeries with them to their friends which they had a little before incurred by an obſtinate oppoſition to their enemies.

The

The Iriſh, in the mean time, who having hitherto been encamped on the neighbouring hills, and had the country at command, were not annoyed with theſe inconveniencies, attempted by all poſſible means to bring Schomberg to an engagement, but in vain; for this was what he would by no means hazard, notwithſtanding the reproaches of the ſoldiers which daily reached his ears while they were lying in the camp in this unwholeſome ſituation.

He was continually ſending for help both to England and Scotland, but the few regiments which he received came but ſlowly, and were not complete; and when they ſaw to what miſery they were ſent, they ſerved only to revive the murmurs of thoſe who were there before them, till theſe murmurs of the whole at length ſeemed to ſubſide, and ſettle in a fixed deſpondency.

The Iriſh army, having by this time quitted their hills, and encamped very near the Engliſh, began alſo to feel the ſame inconveniencies, and though not in ſo great a degree, both becauſe they were accuſtomed to the climate, and becauſe they had the country (as has been before obſerved) more at command.—Both armies at length, in the month of November, quitted their reſpective ſtations, to retire into winter quarters, neither of them interrupting the other in their retreat; though that of the Engliſh ſeemed moſt melancholy, whoſe whole camp, when they began to break it up, diſcovering the numbers of the ſick, appeared like one common hoſpital, and theſe, when they began to be moved and ſeparated from the reſt, ſome to be ſent to the hoſpital at Belfaſt, and others to be conveyed to England, filled the air with complaints and lamentations. This ſcene of the ſick, the melancholy, the deſpairing and the dying, was ſhocking to human nature;

nature; for it was ſuch a one as exhibited a lively picture of the moſt dreadful calamities attendant on war, and while the braveſt owned they felt for others what they would ſcarcely acknowledge they felt for themſelves, produced ſuch a complication of horrors as made even heroes tremble.

"When the army came to march (ſays Dalrymple) the ſoldiers obſerved that ſome of the companies had not twelve men in them. They ſaw the inability of many to bear the march, who, though they appeared to be in health, had loſt their ſtrength; the bloom of Engliſh youth with which they had entered the camp being changed into the ſallowneſs of old age, while they were marching over the bodies of thoſe who the preceding day had gone before them.---Many who died on the paſſage had been caſt upon the roads from the waggons; others had fallen off, or, unable to bear the jolting, had caſt themſelves down; and of thoſe, ſome adjured their companions who were paſſing them to bear them along; and others, by the blows of ſoldiers and of friends, to end all their miſeries. In ſhort, out of fifteen thouſand perſons who at various times, entered the Engliſh camp, above eight thouſand died, or afterwards expired of diſeaſes which they had contracted in it."

It is not difficult to conceive that people of ſuch a diſpoſition as the Engliſh, who are generally impatient of the leaſt offence, ſhould murmur loudly at the little care that had been at firſt taken of Ireland, and the ſmall proſpect of ſucceſs that there was at preſent for their new maſter's arms in that country.--They were heard every where to complain, and ſoon gave William occaſion to curſe the violence of that party ſpirit which had ſo great a ſhare in advancing him

him to the throne.---About the ſame time the king forming a vain ſcheme to unite the diſſenters with the eſtabliſhed church of England, diſobliged the clergy, and thereby increaſed the ferments among the people. Old grievances were now inquired into, new meaſures inveſtigated, and the court found itſelf not a little perplexed between the different factions of whigs and tories, who, though perfectly oppoſite in moſt of their political principles, yet both alike diſſatisfied, ſeemed willingly to concur in endeavouring to mortify the adminiſtration. Amongſt the reſt, the Engliſh parliament ſeemed particularly reſolved to thwart the king in what related to money matters, and now grown impatient, he plainly told them, "That he perceived the public intereſt was loſt in the private paſſions of party, ——that a king without a revenue for life was no better than a pageant of ſtate; the rulers of a republic indeed might be poor, yet honoured, but a prince to be reſpected, muſt be rich.—— That there were gradations in the qualities of governments, but the worſt of all was a monarchy dependant for ſubſiſtance on its ſubjects." In vain did he urge all this, and when ſome of his creatures, who thought they had gained popularity by adopting the meaſure of committing the care of the Iriſh ſervice to parliament, made a motion for a day to conſider how to raiſe two millions that had been voted at the beginning of the ſeſſion, the majority of votes carried it againſt them, and they even mortified their king ſo far as to appoint a committee to examine into the management of his private finances. —— Nor was he without his troubles on the princeſs Anne's account, who having poſtponed her pretenſions to the throne in his favour,

thought much was due ~~from~~ to her for a ſacrifice which William was inwardly fretted ſhe ever had it in her power to make a merit of. She had generally a powerful party. There had been repeated complaints of her highneſs's having had no ſettled revenue allowed her; more careful for her eaſe than for that of her brother-in-law, the commons at laſt addreſſed him to ſettle fifty thouſand pounds *per annum* upon her, out of a revenue which he found was not fully ſufficient to anſwer his own purpoſes, and which was only confirmed to him from year to year, by the mere bounty of the people.

At length, diſtracted between Whigs and Tories, the king formed the reſolution (upon ſome recent advances) of cloſing with the latter, and then ſetting off for Ireland, to leave the queen as regent to manage them herſelf, for whom he judged they entertained a certain reſpect on account of her alliance to their former favourite kings.

There were thoſe who wiſhed to diſappoint this ſcheme of William's, but he anticipated their deſign ſuddenly by proroguing the parliament, and then in a few days diſſolved it, which at once prevented the dreaded oppoſition. Then taking all manner of meaſures for conciliating the affections of his new friends, the Tories, by putting many of them into places of truſt and profit, and diſgracing many of the other party, of whom though they had raiſed him to the throne, he began now to be beyond meaſure fearful and jealous; and having taking the privy ſeal away from lord Halifax, began to prepare every thing for his expedition to Ireland, which intention he ſignified to a new parliament that he afterwards called for that purpoſe, and which met him on the twenty-firſt of March.

As

As ſoon as this reſolution was known, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed by certain diſcontented perſons, for taking advantage of the king's abſence in Ireland to ſubdue his Britiſh territories, though, owing to a concurrence of croſs events, it totally miſcarried.—Whilſt, on the other hand the king of France ſent over a great quantity of military ſtores, together with five thouſand of the beſt French troops to James, in order to prepare him to receive his rival.——In return, James indeed was to ſend back as many Iriſh troops; yet the expedient proved much to his advantage.

In the mean time, ſeventy-eight of the French ſhips, in conſequence of an agreement with the Engliſh malecontents above-mentioned, appeared off the Engliſh coaſts; and though the plot was diſcovered and fruſtrated, created ſuch an alarm, that the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, under Torrington and Evertſen thought fit to ſeek them, and give them battle. They did ſo, and were defeated in a great engagement off Beachy-Head, in which a great number of the Dutch ſhips were burned, ſhattered, and ruined; the Engliſh dropping their anchors unperceived, when they found themſelves worſted, their antagoniſts were inſenſiby wafted away from them by the current, and they had time to concert meaſures for a retreat, which ſaved them from deſtruction, and when they withdrew Tourville the French admiral purſued as far as Rye bay, and then ſtopped to ſee what effect his victory would have upon James's friends in England.

William unknowing of this defeat, yet well acquainted that the French had a naval power hovering upon the Engliſh coaſts, kept all his troops together in a body, and marched on almoſt through the track which Schomberg had purſued before him, with a determination while things were at

ſuch a criſis both by ſea and land, to endeavour to ſtrike ſome extraordinary ſtroke that might go near at once to decide the fate of Ireland.—But he marched on unmoleſted, paſs after paſs, being abandoned by the enemy, becauſe James conceived it as much his intereſt to prolong the war as his rival knew it to be his to haſten its concluſion. The Iriſh therefore did not defend the ſtrong paſs of Newry, but ſtill drawing William away from the ſea, they fell back firſt from Dundalk, and then from Ardee, although both places had been fortified, and ſo continued retiring, till at length James reſolved to pitch his camp on the farther ſide of the river Boyne, in a very ſtrong ſtation. On his right, a little down the river, on the other ſide lay Drogheda, which was garriſoned by his own troops, and on his left, upon the ſame ſide of the river with him was a deep bog. The fords of the river, which were deep and dangerous, lay in his front, the banks being rugged and bounded by old houſes, behind which lay rows of hedges, and above them ſeveral ſmall hills, and the whole commanded by the village of Dunmore, which overlooked the ſtation. Three miles higher up the river ſtood the bridge of Slain; but the bog on the left lay between the camp and the bridge, and the communication between the one and the other was by a narrow track of ground at the back of the bog. Three miles behind Dunmore lay the village and paſs of Dunleck, which ten men a-breaſt could not paſs, and which conſequently might favour the retreat of James's army in caſe of a defeat.

Dalrymple. And here he called councils of war to determine upon the ſum of things, when ſome of the more cautious among his Iriſh counſellors adviſed him ſtill to let his army fall back and retire behind

behind the Shannon.—They urged, "That to retire was no diſgrace when the retreat through ſecurity led to victory. And as the chances of war were ſcarcely ever ſo equal as to render it alike advantageous for two oppoſing generals to fight at one time, therefore the ſame motives which impelled the prince of Orange to ſeek an engagement, ſhould for the ſame reaſon point out to king James that he ought to avoid coming to one as much as poſſible." They obſerved, "That at preſent William's army was ſtrong in numbers, and his own weak, whereas if he had the patience to wait, the contrary would preſently become the caſe, for his antagoniſt's ſtrength would ſoon moulder away, as Schomberg's army had done, while his own ſoldiers being uſed to the air of their own country, were expoſed to no diminution from diſeaſe. It was known by this time that his allies, the French, were maſters of the ſea, and his adherents the Iriſh of the land. —More forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and more might alſo be raiſed at home if he pleaſed, while his enemies could get an increaſe of numbers from neither. — In retreating to the interior part of the kingdom, he could draw proviſions wherever he went, from the garriſons around and behind him. But by advancing into it, the prince muſt loſe the ſupplies from his fleet, and find no other in an enemy's country. To the king, the place of the defeat was immaterial, at the Shannon or the Boyne; but the defeat that the prince might repair where he was ſurrounded with friends, in no want of proviſions, and ſecure of a retreat to his ſhips, would be inevitable ruin if he were cut off from all theſe. Even without riſquing a battle at all, the war might be ended; becauſe if the French fleet ſhould deſtroy the ſhips which

attended the prince, and block up the channel between England and Ireland, his army muſt fall, and fall almoſt without a blow.

On the other hand the impatient ſpirits of his army urged, "That to fly was to be conquered in effect. That to abandon his capital, was to give up the kingdom, that his ſubjects would be terrified to ſee their ſovereign in arms diſputing the field with them, but would purſue him with ſcorn if he fled; and finally that it became his name and reputation in arms to ſet all upon the firſt great caſt which offered itſelf, which would be moſt likely to turn up in his favour, ſince the conſcience of the uſurper, and the fears with which the king's boldneſs would naturally ſtrike him, muſt militate in favour of the former, and could not fail to contribute effectually to the latter's defeat.

Nothing could be more abſurd than the whole chain of reaſoning of theſe people who were ſo eager for an engagement; but as theſe arguments are generally moſt apt to perſuade which are addreſſed to the paſſions of men, and ſoothe them in their vanities, ſo theſe prevailed with James who had a high notion of the ſacred majeſty of hereditary monarchs, and doubted not but his preſence would ſtrike his ſubjects with terror in Ireland, forgetting with what mortifying contempt ſome of theſe very ſubjects had treated him when in England.—

It is true he had for ſome time before fluctuated between different opinions, and at one time had even reſolved to tranſport himſelf to France, at another to retire with his army; but now when he ſaw his antagoniſt advanced as it were to brave him, and poſted in full view on the other ſide of the river, his pride got the better;

and

and joined to his impatience for the great event, determined him to engage the enemy.

In the mean time an affair happened which had gone near to have gained him an almoſt bloodleſs victory. William riding along by the ſide of the river Boyne, conſpicuous in the ſight of both armies, having reconnoitred the enemy, ſat down on the ground to take notes of what he had ſeen. This the enemy obſerving, ſent a body of horſe into the oppoſite field with pieces concealed in their center, which they dropped unnoticed behind a hedge as they marched along. As ſoon as he mounted they were diſcharged, by which means one of his followers was ſlain, and he himſelf being wounded, was ſuppoſed by the enemy to have ſhared the ſame fate. They ſhouted aloud for joy, they drew down their forces to the river as if they would inſtantly paſs it, and attack the Engliſh in their confuſion, the report of this prince's death being ſpread from man to man, and before it could be contradicted, reached France, where the utmoſt joy was expreſſed, the guns of the baſtile fired, and illuminations and bonfires made upon the occaſion. But the wound not proving of conſequence, as given only by the rebound of a ball from the earth, which grazed his ſhoulder, William having got it dreſſed, immediately mounted his horſe again, and rode through his camp to ſhew himſelf, and to encourage his ſoldiers.

Concluding from the news he was daily receiving from England that there was an abſolute neceſſity for his fighting, and as ſome of James's artillery were removed, fearing that prince might prevent him by a retreat, William declared his reſolution to force the paſſage of the Boyne next morning; and, without calling a council of war, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, he ſent all his of-

ficers their orders to their tents, a meſſage which was not a little diſpleaſing to many of them, and among the reſt, to the great Schomberg.

—Nevertheleſs his maſter certainly acted with great propriety on this occaſion. There are times when a man's judgement being fully convinced what mode of action he ought to purſue, demanding advice but trifling. Such was now the caſe with this prince, who beſides dreading that the Engliſh ſpirit of party might even intrude itſelf into his council at this important criſis, and not chuſing to make a diſtinction of nations, adopted this method, in order at once to put an end to all diſputes, knowing that if he conquered all his meaſures would meet with applauſe, and conſequently this among the reſt, and that even if he was vanquiſhed, to ſuch troops as he commanded, his ardour for the fight would even make an apology for any ſingularity in his conduct, when it was too late by debating to recede what was paſſed.

Thus reſolved, about ſix o'clock the next morning, all things being diſpoſed for the battle, William ordered the river to be paſſed in different places. General Douglas, young Schomberg, the earl of Portland and Overkirk marching to Slane bridge, paſſed without any great oppoſition.——But when they reached the farther ſide, they found the enemy, horſe and foot, drawn up in two lines, with a moraſs in their front, which for the preſent checked the progreſs of the aſſailants. However, a reinforcement arriving, the Engliſh foot were led on to the charge through the moraſs, while count Schomberg took a circuit, to flank them with his horſe. On perceiving his diſpoſition, the Iriſh turned and retreated towards Dundalk, Schomberg following, and harraſſing them. But James's left wing being

ing reinforced from his center, Schomberg was preſſed hard, and himſelf obliged to ſend for aid. —— In the mean time William's main body conſiſting of the Dutch guards, ſome battalions of Engliſh, and the French regiments paſſed the river, which was as high as their waiſts, an attempt that would have been much more difficult, if James had not removed his cannon, and if the Iriſh had not prevented his lining ſome breaſt-works he had thrown up with French troops, declaring they would fire upon thoſe Frenchmen, or any others that ſhould preſume to take the poſt of honour from them. This was a fatal piece of diſobedience, and a cruel inſult upon one in their king's ſituation.—Had thoſe French troops, to the number of five thouſand occupied the front, accuſtomed as they were to works of defence, and every way better ſkilled in the military art than the Iriſh, the Engliſh army would probably either have been baffled in their attempt of forcing a paſſage over the river, or have ſuſtained ſuch loſs in atchieving it as muſt have greatly diminiſhed their ſtrength when they came to form upon the oppoſite ſhore.—But as it was, the French being poſted behind the little hills in the rear, and no cannon placed where it could annoy William's troops, the latter made good their landing, being interrupted only by a diſcharge of muſquetry from the Iriſh behind the hedges, which was confuſedly made, given too early, and ſo ill directed that it did them little damage; and then thoſe who had made it forgot their boaſt to their allies abandoned the poſt of honour, wherein they had been ſo ſtrenuous to be placed, and abandoned firſt the breaſtworks and houſes, and afterwards the hedges. ——Whereupon many of William's battallions framed

framed themſelves without any material oppoſition. But before the reſt could come up to ſupport them, Hamilton charged deſperately upon them with his Iriſh horſe, and at the ſame time thoſe French troops, whom the infatuation of the Iriſh would not ſuffer to be placed in the front of the battle, roſe from behind the hills, and advancing to ſupport him, gave a preſent turn to the battle. William's centre was hereby thrown into diſorder. The Dutch ſtood check'd, and the French Proteſtants were inſtantly broken, and on the point of betaking themſelves to flight, which the Daniſh mercenaries being the leaſt concerned of any in the event of the day, did without ceremony; and plunged into the river, whither part of Hamilton's dragoon's followed them. — Callimotte, the commander of the French Proteſtants was preſently trod under foot by the victorious enemy, while Schomberg making a vain effort to relieve his old companion, had the mortification to ſee him carried off wounded to death, while he himſelf was endeavouring to rally the fugitives was ſurrounded by Hamilton's ſoldiers, who with a moſt undaunted bravery, which withered all oppoſition, again broke through the enemy they had formerly routed, and ſurrounding the general, would have taken him priſoner, but that his friends ſaved him the trouble by ſhooting him on the ſpot:—and in this quarter all went in favour of the Iriſh, who were now preparing to charge the enemies centre, and finiſh the battle by one vigorous effort, when William who had paſſed over with the left wing, appeared ready to attack them in flank, which being an unexpected danger, threw the victors into a conſternation that ſpreading from man to man, entirely diſpirited a people ſoon elevated

vated and too ſoon depreſſed, and occaſioned them to retire towards Dunnmore, where they once more made ſuch a ſtand as baffled their purſuers, and made even thoſe troops that William commanded to recoil. Even the Inniſkillingers, whoſe courage was ſo much boaſted of, gave way, and a general rout of that wing would have followed, if freſh ſuccours had not come up.—— Nor had theſe preſerved their friends, otherwiſe than by covering their retreat, but that the brave Hamilton, who could not brook the diſgrace the Iriſh infantry enſured to themſelves by flying before William, charging again with the greateſt impetuoſity, but too little caution, at the head of his dragoons, was wounded and taken priſoner by the Engliſh, who carried him immediately before their king. The aſſiſtance of this great captain was of ſuch conſequence, that as ſoon as he was taken, the Iriſh began to give way on all ſides, and James being informed of it made a precipitate retreat from Dunmore with his principal officers, while his army was yet fighting, leaving orders for his troops firſt to retire, in order to defend the paſs of Dunleck, and afterwards to fall back to the Shannon.— William had once more eſcaped narrowly with his life during this action; for in the heat of the battle one of his own dragoons miſtaking him for an enemy, came up ſuddenly to him, and put a piſtol to his head, but his maſter ſpeaking, the fellow knew his voice, and ſo the miſchief was prevented.— When general Hamilton was brought before this prince,—being aſked, "Whether he thought the Iriſh army would continue the engagement,"—he anſwered, in a manner natural to a gallant ſoldier, "Upon my honour I believe they will, as they have ſtill a good

good body of horſe entire." On which William turning with diſdain, exclaimed, "*Your* honour! *Your* honour!"—Alluding to Hamilton's having deceived him when he was weak enough to ſend him to perſuade Tyrconnel to give up Ireland, and that officer revering his former maſter, perſuaded him to a contrary conduct.

In this field on the ſide of James fell the lords of Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, the marquis of Hocquencourt, and about fifteen hundred men; on that of ~~James~~, as mentioned above, the famous mareſchal Schomberg, and Caillemotte, together with Walker the clergyman, who had defended Londonderry, and who not contented with a handſome reward from his maſter, and a promiſe of future preferment, with a ſpirit more becoming a ſoldier than an eccleſiaſtic, had attended the battle of the Boyne, where he was ſhot in the belly, and died in a few minutes, a victim to his own inſatiable thirſt of war. When William heard of the death of the laſt mentioned perſon, he very pertinently exclaimed, "Fool that he was! what had he to do there." A very ſenſible ſpeech, and which marked at once the penetration of him who uſed it, and pointed out the impropriety of men's ſeeking for fame in ſtations where it is not alloted for them.——About five hundred Engliſhmen were ſlain in the engagement.

After this defeat James ſeemed to have loſt all ſpirit and all conduct. Though, as has been obſerved already, not more than fifteen hundred of his men fell in the battle; though he might have found means eaſily to have repaired his loſs, and ſtill kept in the field in a country entirely devoted to him; yet he thought of nothing but retiring, and coming firſt to Dublin, and next to Waterford, breaking down all the bridges behind

mortally wounded with a muſket ball, as he was exciting his men to prevent them from eſcaping. Fainting and falling from his horſe, when he recovered, he aſked, "How things were?" Being told, "All was well," "Then (ſaid he) I am well!" and immediately expired.

This battle coſt his enemies two thouſand men killed, and five hundred wounded; the reſt diſperſed of their own accord, and Mackay himſelf was only ſaved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay to the weſtward of the paſs, while the highlanders were employed in plundering the baggage of the Engliſh army.—

William, who had ſo long neglected Ireland, now turned his views in earneſt towards the reduction of that country. He cauſed twenty-three new regiments to be raiſed in England, joining them with two battalions of Dutchmen and four of French refugees, which, together with ſome regiments from Scotland, and a body of ſix thouſand mercenary Danes, he reſolved to ſend over to oppoſe James, under the conduct of mareſchal Schomberg, to whom count Solmes was ſecond in command.

But when the former was arrived at Cheſter, he found ſcarcely any thing in the order he expected: ſome of the regiments were not come up, others were ill diſpoſed to a regular command, and many conſiſted of ſuch as had not the leaſt idea of a proper uſe of their weapons. There was not a ſufficient number of veſſels got ready to tranſport the ſoldiers, nor was due care taken relative to the quantity and quality of the cloaths and proviſions neceſſary for ſuch an expedition.

However, after having waited for twenty-two days at Cheſter, the mareſchal ſet ſail with ſuch a force as he could well draw together, and provide for, amounting in the whole to about

ten

ten thouſand men, and landing in the bay of Carrickfergus, on the twelfth day of Auguſt he laid ſiege to the place, which was garriſoned with two thouſand five hundred men, and took it within four days.

From Carrickfergus he proceeded to march his army to Dundalk, near which place, when they had arrived, after experiencing much hardſhip in a rainy ſeaſon and a deſerted country, he reſolved to halt there, and waited for ten days in expectation of the remainder of the army levied in England, joining or at leaſt of his receiving ſome ſupplies of men, money, or proviſions from Scotland or Denmark.

When mareſchal Roſen, who had aſſembled the Iriſh forces at Drogheda, heard that Schomberg had ſtopped, he ſaid, "Then he was ſure the mareſchal wanted ſomething, and being then within ſix miles of Dundalk, he ordered his troops to quit their ſtations and garriſons, and advance towards that place; whereupon Schomberg, being apprehenſive of an attack, intrenched himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, from whence he was reſolved no art of the enemy ſhould draw him to combat in the open field.

He had indeed, by theſe means, provided for the ſecurity of his army againſt the danger of an unequal fight; but there was another danger which he could not ſo eaſily guard againſt: cooped up within the limits of their camp, devoid of exerciſe, and much incommoded by the low and damp ſituation of the place, ſickneſs ſoon began to make havoc amongſt them, which was increaſed by the reception of ſome troops from the infected town of Londonderry, who brought thoſe miſeries with them to their friends

which

which they had a little before incurred by an obſtinate oppoſition to their enemies.

The Iriſh, in the mean time, who having hitherto been encamped on the neighbouring hills, and had the country at command, were not annoyed with theſe inconveniencies, attempted by all poſſible means to bring Schomberg to an engagement, but in vain. That experienced veteran conſidering the wretched ſtate of the army he commanded, without ſhoes, without proviſions, without officers capable of giving him any aſſiſtance, and well knowing the nature of all new raiſed troops, that a defeat would have been fatal to his whole army, and conſequently all Ireland been loſt, wiſely reſolved to continue on the defenſive till he received reinforcements, which he was continually ſending for both to England and Scotland, but the few regiments which he received came but ſlowly, and were not complete; and when they ſaw to what miſery they were ſent, they ſerved only to revive the murmurs of thoſe who were there before them, till theſe murmurs of the whole at length ſeemed to ſubſide, and ſettle in a fixed deſpondency.

The Iriſh army, having by this time quitted their hills, and encamped very near the Engliſh, began alſo to feel the ſame inconveniencies, and though not in ſo great a degree, both becauſe they were accuſtomed to the climate, and becauſe they had the country (as has been before obſerved) more at command.—Both armies at length, in the month of November, quitted their reſpective ſtations, to retire into winter quarters, neither of them interrupting the other in their retreat; though that of the Engliſh ſeemed moſt melancholy, whoſe whole camp, when they began to break it up, diſcovering the numbers of the

ſick,

ſick, appeared like one common hoſpital, and theſe, when they began to be moved and ſeparated from the reſt, ſome to be ſent to the hoſpital at Belfaſt, and others to be conveyed to England, filled the air with complaints and lamentations.

The officers were employed in attendance on the ſick; Schomberg, at the age of above fourſcore years, afflicted with this ſcene of wretchedneſs, expoſed to the violence of a dreary and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, ſtood for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, commanding, encouraging, directing every means for alleviating the miſeries of his men. In ſhort, out of fifteen thouſand perſons who at various times, entered the Engliſh camp, above eight thouſand died, or afterwards expired of diſeaſes which they had contracted in it.

In the curious Collection of State Letters publiſhed by Sir John Dalrymple, are the diſpatches of duke Schomberg to king William relating to this campaign; they paint in lively colours the ſtate of the army; clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity which has been unjuſtly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant ſimplicity of Cæſar, and to whoſe reputation and Conduct, next to thoſe of king William, the Engliſh nation owe the revolution.

It is not difficult to conceive that people of ſuch a diſpoſition as the Engliſh, who are generally impatient of the leaſt offence, ſhould murmur loudly at the little care that had been at firſt taken of Ireland, and the ſmall proſpect of ſucceſs that there was at preſent for their new maſter's arms in that country.—They were heard every where to complain, and ſoon gave William occaſion to curſe the violence of that party ſpirit which had ſo great a ſhare in advancing him

over to Ireland, alſo made himſelf maſter of both thoſe places before winter.

The Iriſh reduced by theſe loſſes, and weakened by the differences between them and their auxiliaries the French, began now to foreſee in them, the fate of the kingdom, which ſeemed likely to be precipitated by the retreat of the foreign forces, which theſe very differences occaſioned. And to compleat all, James, who now deſpaired of making any advantage of the troubles of Ireland, ordered Tyrconnel to make the beſt terms he could for his party there, and then to withdraw himſelf from the country.—— But William having in an amneſty that he had lately iſſued, excepted from the general pardon, "the deſperate leaders of the rebellion;" almoſt every perſon of any note or conſideration ſuppoſed himſelf included in that definition, and was therefore reſolved to the utmoſt of his power, to prevent a peace to which he ſuppoſed he himſelf ſhould fall a ſacrifice;—and thus by the manner in which theſe ſuppoſitions wrought upon the minds of the principal people, he might almoſt as well have excepted the whole nation. Beſides this, the Iriſh could never be brought to look upon themſelves as rebels while they were fighting for the cauſe of a prince who had ſolemnly been proclaimed their king, and againſt one to whom very few of them had taken any oath or given any promiſe of allegiance.—But now indeed they ſeemed inclined to include themſelves under that title, by the behaviour which deſpair reduced them to adopt: deſerted by James, and when they would not come into meaſures of peace by Tyrconnel alſo; the duke of Berwick, who remained amongſt them, in vain attempted to bring them into order. Some of them

could not help reflecting, "That they were now going to be ſacrificed by James as before they had been by Charles, who withdrew his authority from them, when they were reduced to diſtreſs, and abandoned them to ſuffer for his cauſe when he no longer thought it his intereſt to ſupport him; that loyal as they were, it was not the firſt time they had been abandoned by a Stuart; but that though king James had taxed them with cowardice, yet he ſhould ſtill ſee they could fight for themſelves, and in ſpite of their preſent low condition, either inſure victory, obtain an honourable peace, or die with their arms in their hands." This was the language of *ſome*, "That they would find their own reſourſes, and truſt to them alone," was the determination of all; upon which the duke of Berwick finding himſelf uneaſily ſituated, made haſte to return to France, leaving the command of the forces to Sarsfield.

This was the general that had defeated William's attempt upon Limerick; which ſucceſs had raiſed his reputation high in the eyes of his countrymen. Having beſides been attainted, his revenge and intereſt now went hand and hand, and, joining to both a ſoldier's thirſt of military glory, he reſolved to contribute every thing in his power to encourage the Iriſh to a vigorous reſiſtance of their enemies, and was accordingly every where active amongſt them.

But whilſt the ſoldiers in both armies were well enough diſpoſed for action, the people on both ſides experienced unſpeakable miſeries. The troops diſperſing into winter quarters every where preyed on the country. The neglect of agriculture in moſt places rendered that country unable to ſupport them. The French on the ſide of the Iriſh, and

and the Danes on that of the Engliſh ſeemed to conſider, nay the latter even avowed that they did conſider themſelves as in an enemy's country, and they made no ſcruple to ſubſiſt on rapine and plunder accordingly. To crown all theſe miſeries, the Rapparees, who conſiſted of the loweſt claſs among the Iriſh, now every where committed horrid depredations. Theſe men whoſe only food was the potatoe-root, and whoſe only dwelling was a mud-built cottage, alike averſe to labour and to regular arms, were yet continually hanging upon the ſkirts of the armies, and ſometimes were inſolent enough to attack their advanced poſts. Yet even theſe men did the different parties take under protection, and employ them to harraſs and diſtreſs each other. But the Rapparees were ſeldom of any other uſe in ſuch caſes than to heighten the horrors of war by monſtrous acts of cruelty and inhumanity. Little accuſtomed to obſerve the diſtinction between friends and foes, they generally fell indiſcriminately upon both, wherever plunder was to be gotten. They uſed to meet on dark nights in unfrequented places, by appointment, to plan their miſchiefs; appearing unarmed, they yet could immediately furniſh themſelves with weapons at a time when leaſt expected. Carrying the locks of their muſquets in their pockets, and hiding the pieces themſelves cloſely ſtopped up in the neighbouring ditches, they could aſſume them at pleaſure, and thus by the ſuddenneſs and uncommon method of attack, would not only plunder the unarmed people, but even ſometimes defeat whole bodies of regular forces.——They burned, pillaged, and deſtroyed whatever came in the way; mercy they neither gave nor expected, and their route was ſcarcely any otherwiſe to be traced than by the fires they lighted up in the

country, and the cries of the wretched inhabitants.——These robbers and aſſaſſins if purſued by ſuperior force diſappeared and fled through woods and bogs with incredible ſwiftneſs, and would ſometimes even lay themſelves along in muddy water, with no other parts but their mouths and noſtrils above its ſurface, by which means they would eſcape the hands of their enemies, and even mock at all thoughts or attempts of purſuit. Nevertheleſs, we find by the accounts of hiſtory that numbers of them were taken and hanged without ceremony by the ſoldiers; but it was impoſſible by ſuch means to extirpate ſuch enemies, nor could all the rigour of either army be ſufficient to deter them from their evil practices, or to prevent numbers of innocent perſons from falling victims to their ſavage fury.

While things were thus ſituate in Ireland, William who had been terrified with a freſh plot, which narrowly eſcaped being put into execution, gave orders to general Ginkle to finiſh the Iriſh war at any rate. James, on his part, ſent back Tyrconnel to put himſelf at the head of affairs, of whoſe power Sarsfield grew jealous; on which account Monſieur St. Ruth, a French general, and a man of great abilities, was afterwards ſent over to take the command of the army, who ſoon perceiving the diſcontents that reigned among the Iriſh, and which his preſence rather inflamed than aſſuaged, thought proper to keep upon the defenſive, and placing his army behind Athlone, ſtrongly garriſoned the towns on the Iriſh ſide of the Shannon, and waited patiently for the approaches of the enemy.

Ballimore being ſurrendered to the Engliſh, Ginkle after ſome other ſucceſſes, advanced to Athlone, which conſiſted of two towns, one on the

the Engliſh, and the other on the Iriſh ſide of the Shannon, which were joined by a ſtone bridge, and by a ford a little way below it. The beſiegers having made a breach, ſtormed it on the Engliſh ſide; but the enemy retreating towards the bridge, that part of the garriſon which occupied the Iriſh town broke it down, and cut off the communication between the towns, though by ſo doing they occaſioned the deſtruction of their companions, many of whom thus deſerted were ſlain with the ſword, or drowned in the river Shannon. They had beſides fortified the place on their ſide of the water, whereby the beſiegers found they had their work almoſt to begin again, the ford being difficult to paſs, and commanded by an adjacent caſtle. Whereupon, Ginkle reſolved to intrench himſelf in the Engliſh town, and in the interim to endeavour throwing a bridge of pontoons over the river below the ford, and conſtructing a wooden work on the bridge, in order to throw great planks over the broken arch. The former deſign miſcarried on account of the banks not being firm; and when the latter was juſt brought to bear, an Iriſh grenade ſet fire to the wood work, and at once deſtroyed all the labours of the Engliſh. This accident occaſioned great trouble in the beſiegers army, for their ſtores being much reduced, and the general having neglected in his haſte to ſecure a retreat, or communication behind him, there remained ſmall proſpect of any ſafety but in victory; ſo that while the two parties were thus contending, even the avenues to the city of Dublin were barricaded, and all the proteſtants of Ireland trembled for the great event.

Failing thus in their grand attempt of making the bridge paſſable, the general, on the Engliſh

ſide reſolved at length in a council of war to force a paſſage at the ford. The attempt was dangerous, as this ford was ſtony, breaſt-high, and paſſable only to twenty men in a rank, who muſt be expoſed to the continual fire of the enemy, nay perhaps it might have been ranked among thoſe raſh actions which are rather to be deemed ſubjects of aſtoniſhment than imitation, had not St. Ruth been too ſecure, believing the beſiegers to have entirely relinquiſhed the deſign, ſent three of his worſt regiments during that very night the council of war had been held, to relieve the overfatigued garriſon.

But this being the caſe, when all things were ſecretly prepared for the aſſault, a body of two thouſand men was ordered to attempt the paſſage of the river, whilſt others mounting the walls oppoſite to the enemy, were prepared to cover the deſign by keeping an inceſſant fire upon them. Then the Engliſh with a great ſhout ſuddenly entered the river, and after a ſmart diſpute, made their paſſage good, attacked the town in ſeveral parts, and cut off the communication with St. Ruth's army, which the Iriſh perceiving, abandoned the place, ſhifting as well as poſſible for their ſafety, while thoſe from whom they expected relief were marching too ſlowly to their aſſiſtance, and ſeeing the guns of the town now preparing to be turned againſt them, ſpeedily retreated, and breaking up their camp, withdrew in great haſte to Agrim.

Ginkle had received authority from William to publiſh a pardon for all ſuch of the Iriſh as choſe to take the benefit of it; but, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, the Dutchman had delayed till now to propoſe it. As ſoon as it was known, numbers who were diſpirited by the late misfor-

misfortune, took the advantage of it, and this circumſtance as well as the reproaches of thoſe who remained; determined St. Ruth to alter his plan of a defenſive war, and ſet the fate of Ireland upon the iſſue of a battle while he had yet the means left him of aſſembling an army wherewith to make one general effort.

To this purpoſe he drew together the garriſons he had ſtationed in the neighbouring town to the number of about twenty-five thouſand men, with whom he had reſolved to face the enemy. He had encamped this army on a height in a line which had extended two miles; half a mile from the front below was a bog with two paſſages, one of which led to the right, the other to the left of his camp. The paſſage on the left opened into a corn-field, in which, however, only four battalions could form a front. Farther on were difficult grounds, and the ruins of the caſtle of Agrim, where cannon were placed. The paſſage to the right opened upon ground that was wider but yet afforded not room for an army. The ſpace between theſe two paſſages was filled with hedges and ditches which were lined with troops, and the remainder of the army was ranged upon the heights before the camp.

Ginkle having ſpent a week in refreſhing his troops at Athlone, followed with the Engliſh army to Agrim, from whence his approach being diſcerned even whilſt at a a great diſtance, St. Ruth took all precautions to form his troops, in order to prepare them for his reception. He himſelf made a ſpeech to animate them; the prieſts ran through all the ranks, cauſing the men to ſwear upon the ſacrament that they would not deſert their colours, and uſing every argument to inſpire them with courage, that the love of their

religion, or regard for their own honour and that of their country could dictate.

This was indeed a moſt remarkable ſituation; for now once more was the fate of Ireland brought to a criſis.—Now was the fate of William and of James in that country to be determined, as well as that of the proteſtant and the Catholic intereſt. The eyes of all were upon this great event, and both parties prepared themſelves accordingly.

The Engliſh army in two diviſions marched to the right and left of the bog, bending towards each other with a deſign of flanking the enemy, and joining on the riſing ground, while St. Ruth who ſtood upon the heights ſuffered them to paſs the bog without interruption, intending to attack the two bodies ſeparately, before they ſhould be in a condition to aſſiſt each other. For this purpoſe, when he found the left wing of the Engliſh had advanced into the open ground, he diſpatched moſt of his cavalry in order to ſtrengthen his right.——On this general Mackay adviſed Ginkle to draw off part of his right wing to the left, and in the interim ſounding the bog, and finding it not impaſſable, he ordered part of his troops to paſs through it to the corn field on the left, and there to keep their ſtation, without preſſing upon the enemy, till he ſhould be ready to flank them. And at the ſame time general Talmaſh marched before, in order to attack the caſtle of Agrim. But theſe troops which Mackay had ordered to remain inactive forgot the injunction, and advanced towards the line of hedges, where they were received by the Iriſh with a briſk fire. The latter, however, at length retired in order to draw their enemies on, and the ſtratagem ſucceeded; for

for the Engliſh eagerly purſued, till by means of the communication the Iriſh had made between the hedges, they found themſelves ſurrounded, and fired upon at once in their front, flanks, and rear, while their general, who had not yet overcome the difficulties of the broken grounds, could not give them any aſſiſtance. This falſe ſtep was likely to have occaſioned an entire defeat of that wing; for the ſoldiers, thus embarraſſed, were obliged to give way on all ſides; ſome retiring with precipitation to the corn-field, whilſt others even fled back through the bog.— This was a very diſagreeable ſpectacle to the Engliſh generals, who as ſoon as they could diſencumber themſelves, bent all their force to that quarter, where their friends were diſtreſſed, while St. Ruth viewing from his heights the embarraſſment of the enemy, threw his hat up three times into the air and ſhouted for joy, giving thoſe about him the aſſurances of what he thought a certain victory. Geohagen,

But the conſideration of the ſhame, and ſtill more of the danger of a defeat, worked upon the Engliſh, that having ſurmounted the firſt difficulty, they not only kept their ground, but after a ſmart ſtruggle advanced upon the enemy. The wary St. Ruth now finding the ſcene was about to change, and obſerving the two diviſions of the enemy to the right and left gathering upon the riſing grounds, reſolved with all ſpeed to prevent the junction. —— Preparing therefore himſelf to deſcend with a ſtrong body of horſe from the heights, where he had hitherto remained, "Now ſaid he will I drive the Engliſh to the very gates of Dublin."

He had reſolved to fall upon the enemy in a dangerous hollow way, through which they were obliged

obliged to paſs; but in his way he was ſlain by a cannon-ball, which ſo diſheartened his ſoldiers that they firſt halted and afterwards fled; nor could Sarsfield, who was ſecond in command, when they were rallied give any ſuccour to the army, ſince having been at enmity with St. Ruth, he knew nothing of that general's plans or diſpoſitions. The whole Iriſh army was now divided into three bodies, neither of which knew what plan they were to act upon, while the two diviſions of Ginkle's army, conducted by their generals, who ſtill kept that uniform diſpoſition with which they had at firſt ſet out, and which alone could procure them victory, of verging towards each other, found themſelves every moment nearer attaining their end, and the body of Engliſh appointed to paſs the hollow way having compaſſed their deſign, began to attack their enemies in flank, who were totally unable to prevent them; which perceiving, after a ſtruggle that was vain, they fled with precipitation, and abandoned the field to the Engliſh, who gained a complete victory, which however they ſullied by their cruelty in granting no quarter to the vanquiſhed, who loſt about ſeven thouſand men in the action and purſuit, together with their tents, baggage, and military ſtores which fell into the hands of the enemy, whoſe loſs amounted to little more than ſeven hundred ſlain in battle.

It is highly probable that the Engliſh owed this victory to the death of the French general, who though he was but ill beloved by the Iriſh, and had loſt them Athlone, was yet a good general, as James well knew, when he ſent him to take the command. Nor would even the loſs of him have been attended with ſuch fatal conſequences to the Iriſh, if the diſputes between him and Sarsfield

Sarsfield had not prevented the latter from being acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the former. After all, it muſt be allowed that the Iriſh made a moſt gallant reſiſtance as long as there was any probability of ſucceſs, and therefore deſerved to be treated as a valiant enemy.

Limerick being the only place of any conſiderable ſtrength remaining in the hands of the Iriſh, thither the fugitives retreated, and thither Ginkle prepared to follow them, taking all the places which lay in his way, and Gallway among the reſt, the garriſon of which town were permitted by the articles of capitulation to retire to Limerick, where in all likelihood of more diſſervice than uſe to their countrymen that were cooped up within the limits of that place. It conſiſted like Athlone of two towns, one upon the Engliſh ſide of the river, called the Iriſh town, the other on an iſland in the river called the Engliſh town, which was alſo joined to the Iriſh ſide of the country by another bridge, called Thomond bridge, which on the Iriſh ſide of the river was defended by works. Almoſt all the Iriſh infantry were in theſe towns; excepting a few regiments, which together with fifteen hundred horſe remained on the Iriſh ſide of the river, in order to prevent the beſiegers from paſſing it, and to procure proviſions for themſelves.

Ginkle making his approaches in the ſame manner that William had done before him, met at firſt with little oppoſition, as the Iriſh cared not for more diſputes on open ground after the recent defeat at Agrim, but reſolved rather to truſt to the ſtrength of their fortifications, and the aid of the French which now they expected in vain, than by any hazards to diſpirit the ſhattered remains of their armies. Perceiving the manner in which they intended to carry on the war, Ginkle

kle drew a line of contravallation behind him, gave orders for all the Engliſh troops and their auxiliaries from every part of Ireland to join him, and for a ſquadron of ſhips then upon the coaſt to ſail up the river, and block up the town as cloſely as poſſible. His batteries being directed at the Iriſh town, it was at firſt expected that the two armies would exhibit nearly the ſame ſpectacle as they had formerly done in Athlone, and diſpute within the walls of Limerick, but the Dutch general who remembered thoſe difficulties he had experienced in the former place, now reſolved to incur no ſuch hazards, but attacked the Iriſh town only becauſe it was on the ſame ſide with himſelf, and becauſe by ſetting it on fire he hoped the inhabitants would be induced to oblige the garriſon to give it up, but finding that the ſoldiers drove the inhabitants from the town, and inſtead of extinguiſhing the flames, broke into the houſes for plunder, he removed his batteries, and placed them oppoſite to the Engliſh town, from whence he might conveniently annoy the enemy.

Within the ſpace of ten days both the towns were almoſt laid in aſhes, by the terrible execution done by the Engliſh bombs; nevertheleſs the garriſon ſtill held out, in hopes either of obtaining foreign ſuccours, or ſo effectually wearying out the beſiegers as to oblige them to quit their attempt in the ſame manner that William had done the year before. Ginkle being reſolved to confirm them in this expectation, pretended to raiſe the ſiege, for which reaſon he diſmounted his cannon one evening, and feigned to decamp with a conſiderable part of his army; which the Iriſh perceiving, teſtified their joy with loud ſhouts, and acclamations; but when it was quite dark he turned ſuddenly towards the river, and having employed

employed workmen to throw pontoons acroſs, he paſſed over about day-break, when he was leaſt expected. In a few days afterwards he attacked and carried the works that commanded Thomond bridge, along which the Iriſh fled in confuſion, and the Engliſh purſuing them, the draw-bridge was raiſed by order of the commanding officer, leſt friends and enemies ſhould both enter together, by which means above a thouſand ſoldiers were either drowned in the river, or ſlain by the ſwords of their enemies. And yet this ſtep of his was greatly inſtrumental to the loſs of the town, which but for the diviſions between them and their allies, as it appeared in the ſequel, the Iriſh might ſtill have preſerved. For this officer being a Frenchman, they exclaimed, "That inſtead of friends, the French acted the part of enemies."—And violent complaints enſued, which alarming the foreign officers, both ſides being jealous of each other, propoſed to capitulate the next day; a haſty reſolution, which however excuſable it might have been in the garriſons of other towns, was certainly a very impolitic ſtep in them, when it was conſidered that at ſuch a time on the fate of Limerick, that of all Ireland depended; as an acknowledgement of which, in the articles of capitulation, the commanders of the Iriſh forces in Limerick treated for the whole Iriſh nation, on terms which were accordingly ratified, and ſo by the delivery of the place, the war in Ireland was ended. A few days after the capitulation was ſigned, a French fleet of eighteen ſail, with ſtore of ammunition and proviſions arrived on the coaſt, a ſight which a few days before would have been moſt welcome to the Iriſh, but which now only ſerved to overwhelm them with ſorrow.

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In the mean time William was no leſs employed in foreign than in domeſtic wars. The army of Louis the Fourteenth penetrated into Piedmont, before the Germans could prevent their deſign, but when they arrived the French retired. On the Rhine the German and French armies, were nearly equal to each other, for which reaſon they avoided coming to action; whilſt in Flanders William forced mareſchal Boufflers to abandon the bombardment of Liege, but in return when he quitted his army, the French defeated part of it on the way to Cambron.---The Engliſh and French fleets watched each other, and moſt people were uneaſy at the enormous expences the nation had been at without having obtained any conſiderable ſucceſſes in counter-ballance for the ſums of money, which they had ſo liberally granted. Yet the king believing that when Ireland was reduced, he might aſk almoſt any thing ſecurely of his parliament, at the end of the campaign fitted out a large fleet, and aſſembled ſixty-five thouſand land forces for the ſervice of the enſuing year for the ſupport of which after ſome delays, no leſs a ſum than three millions and a half was granted.——There were attempts made however to procure many popular laws, one of which the king refuſed his aſſent, namely that of eſtabliſhing judges in their offices for life; a conceſſion which was liberally granted by his preſent majeſty, even unaſked; a conceſſion by which he gave away a part of the prerogative which perhaps ſome leſs generous or leſs ſcrupulous ſucceſſors of his upon the throne may in vain wiſh again to have poſſeſſion of.

About this period an affair happened in Scotland, which fixed a great ſtain upon William's character, the cauſe and effect of which a modern

dern writer gives the following circumſtantial account.

" Upon the diſcovery of the conſpiracy, in the year ſixteen hundred and ninety, lord Tarbet had ſuggeſted a plot for prevailing on the attainted highlanders to lay down thoſe arms which they had taken up under lord Dundee, and which they had never ſince entirely quitted. And lord Breadalbane, who had probably concerted the project with him, offered to carry it into execution. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by the government, becauſe it was known he had more credit with the Highlanders than any man in Scotland, and becauſe there were ſurmiſes at the time of a French invaſion in that country. But the project took not effect, becauſe Sir Thomas Livingſtone ſoon after gained ſome advantages over the Highlanders, and becauſe, hearing that the invaſion was to reach no farther than England, they kept themſelves quiet within their own country in the ſummer, in order to ſave themſelves from the incurſions of the troops during that ſeaſon. But winter was no ſooner come than they re-commenced their hoſtilities. Upon this the lord Breadalbane renewed the offer of his ſervice, and ſent a ſcheme for ſettling the Highlands to Sir John Dalrymple, ſecretary of ſtate, who was then attending his maſter in Flanders. The ſcheme was, that a pardon and twelve thouſand pounds ſhould be given to the Highlanders in arms, moſt of which money was to be applied to diſcharge the claims of the duke of Argyle upon their eſtates, and that penſions ſhould be given to all the Highland chieftains in Scotland, under a condition of their holding four thouſand of their people diſciplined for war; and ready at a call to ſerve at home or abroad. Sir John Dalrymple readily adopted it,

Maſſacre of Glencoe.

it, and laid it before the king, who ſent for lord Breadalbane to Flanders to adjuſt the terms. Breadalbane returned to Scotland, and brought the treaty with the attainted Highlanders near a concluſion. A proclamation was publiſhed in the autumn of ſixteen hundred and ninety-one, which declared that all rebels who took the oaths to the government before the firſt day of January enſuing, ſhould be pardoned.

"The duke of Hamilton in the mean time, either from envy againſt lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or becauſe he believed he could make better terms for his maſter, ſent emiſſaries to the Highlands to prevent the concluſion of the treaty. The Highland chieftains played a double game. They wrote to king James for his permiſſion to make a treaty, promiſing that they would obſerve it no longer than it was for his intereſt, and at the ſame time to create jealouſies in William of his ſervants, and among his ſervants themſelves. They gave information to the duke of Hamilton, and to the enemies of lord Breadalbane, lord Slaine, and his ſon, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms upon which they had aſked James's conſent to the treaty. Upon this, accuſations were preſented to the privy council and parliament, and ſent to the king againſt Breadalbane; and general Mackay blown up with the honour which he had acquired in his own profeſſion in Ireland, wrote letters underhand to the king and lord Portland againſt lord Breadaldbane and Sir John Dalrymple, moſt of which were communicated to the laſt of theſe perſons. William, who was ſteady to the perſons he truſted, received the accuſations with diſregard, ſaying, with his uſual brevity, "Men who manage treaties muſt give fair words."

"But

" But Breadalbane retained deep in his mind the ſenſe of Highlanders breach of faith and of the injuries they had attempted to him. He communicated his own paſſion to Sir John Dalrymple, and the king had been long teazed, and ſtopped in purſuits which he had more at heart, by the tumults of Scotland, was himſelf irritated. A new ſcheme [certainly a moſt infernal one] was ſuggeſted by lord Breadalbane, adopted by the ſecretary, and aſſented to by the king for cutting off all the Highlanders who ſhould not take the oaths to the new government within the time preſcribed by the proclamation. The mode of execution was intended to be, by what were called in Scotland, letters of fire and ſword, an inhuman but a legal weapon (ſays my author) in the law of that country againſt attainted rebels (though how they could be properly ſtyled ſo while James yet lived. is hard for either politicians or caſuiſts to account for) The order was ſent down to the privy council, which, without remonſtrating againſt it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution, and ordered money, a ſhip, and other military preparations for that purpoſe. Breadalbane, Tarbet, and Argyle, had privately agreed to give their aſſiſtance if neceſſary. The king's troops were properly poſted.—The marquis of Athol, who by means of general Mackay had for ſome time been paying court to the new government, had an hundred men ready; and there is reaſon to believe that ſome of theſe lords were flattered with the proſpect of part of the rebells eſtates. It is probable that ſome of the privy council gave warning to the Highlanders of their danger, for all the attainted chieftains, with the people, took the oaths before the time prefixed, except one——that one was Mac Donald of Glenco.

"Glenco and all his clan were peculiarly obnoxious to lord Breadalbane, becauſe there had been frequent wars between their families. *And Sir John Dalrymple thought that mercy would be thrown away upon them*, becauſe they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incurſions into the low countries for plunder, and becauſe he himſelf obtained a pardon for them from king William, when one of the tribe having diſcovered his accomplices in a crime, the reſt had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had ſtabbed him with a durk (or dagger) Glenco, the chieftain, giving the firſt blow.

"Glenco went upon the laſt day of December to fort William, and deſired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor of the fortreſs, but as that officer was not a civil magiſtrate he refuſed to adminiſter the oaths. Glenco then went to Inverary, the county-town, to take them before the ſheriff of the county; but by bad weather was prevented from reaching it until a few days after the term preſcribed by the proclamation was elapſed. The ſheriff ſcrupled at firſt, but was prevailed upon at laſt to receive his allegiance. Advantage was taken of Glenco's not having complied literally with the terms of the proclamation, and a warrant for proceeding to execution was procured from the king, which was ſigned both above and below with his own hand.

"This warrant was executed with many circumſtances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution ſhould be effectual, and without any previous warning.—For this purpoſe, in the month of February, two companies went, not as enemies but as friends, to take quarters in the valley of Glenco, where all the clan lived.——To conceal the intention

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the better, the ſoldiers were of their own lineage, Highlanders of lord Argyle's regiment, and the commanding officer, captain Campbell of Glenlyon was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's ſons. All were received with the rude but kind hoſpitality of the country. They continued in the valley near a fortnight, and then in the night time roſe to butcher their hoſts. Captain Campbell had ſupped and played at cards with Glenco's family the evening before. Thirty-eight men were ſlain. The reſt would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's ſons, who overheard one of the ſoldiers ſay to another, "He liked not the work; he feared not to fight the Mac Donalds in the field, but had ſcarcely courage to kill them in their ſleep; but their officers were anſwerable for the deed, not they."

The ſequel of this was, that the young Mac Donald, when he who overheard theſe things haſtened with his brother to acquaint their father of the treacherous deſign; but they found the houſe already ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, who were deſtined to become their executioners, and heard the diſcharge of muſquets, and the ſhrieks of women and children: the old chief was ſhot through the head in his bed; and his wife the next day died diſtracted. Mac Donald's gueſt, the lord of Auchtrinken, who had three months before made his ſubmiſſion to the government, and had a protection about him, was alſo put to death, and an innocent boy about eight years old was ſtabbed to the heart, by a ſubaltern officer, while he was imploring mercy at the feet of Campbell. Of thirty-eight perſons who fell thus, the chief part were butchered in their beds, with ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity. Two hundred

victims had been devoted by the government; but of theſe about one hundred and ſixty eſcaped (by the detachments not arriving timely enough to ſecure the paſſes) who fled from this valley of tears * carrying with them an irreconcilable hatred to the new government, which was ſaid to be remembred by their poſterity even ſo late as the late rebellion, when ſome of the pretender's men objecting to the carnage the Highlanders made after one of their victories, was checked by an officer, who is ſaid to have bade him "Remember Glenco, and then he would wonder no longer that they gave no quarter."

The maſſacre being finiſhed, Campbell ſuffered all the cattle and other effects of the Glenco family to be plundered, and ordered all the houſes to be burned and razed to the ground, after which he left the widows and orphans of thoſe he had murdered without ſhelter, cloaths, or food in the midſt of the ſnow, which at that time covered the country, at the diſtance of ſix miles from any inhabited place, immerſed in darkneſs, and every moment dreading that fate from the ſwords of their enemies, which many of them met with from cold, hunger and fatigue, before they could light on any who would meet with any who would yield them any kind of conſolation or aſſiſtance in this their moſt dreadful ſituation.

William, under whoſe auſpices this treachery been acted, finding his name every where execrated for the barbarity, and himſelf compared to the moſt bloody tyrants recorded in hiſtory, hearing that an account of the affair had been publiſhed even with exaggerations at Paris, and obſerving

* Which was the interpretation of the name their place of abode bore in the Celtic language.

obſerving the horror it excited amongſt his own ſubjects, and even amongſt the Jacobite Highlanders, was more likely to hurt his intereſt upon the whole than to ſerve it, this prince pretended to ſet on foot an enquiry concerning the authors of the maſſacre, which he now thought it would be moſt proper for him to diſavow, by ſaying that he had ſigned the order (which he knew was ready to be produced) amongſt a heap of other papers, without being acquainted with its contents;——a weak excuſe, the futility of which ſufficiently appeared by his actions; for though he diſmiſſed the maſter of Stair from his employment of ſecretary, and made ſome buſtle in the affair amongſt others, yet he never brought the perpetrators of this wickedneſs to condign puniſhment, as certainly he would have done for the ſake of his own honour and character, if he had not been himſelf too deeply concerned in the iniquity, and ſeriouſly conſented to this infamous ſcheme of aſſaſſination.

And though, my author obſerves, that letters of fire and ſword were a legal weapon in the conſtitution of Scotland, yet certainly it was inexcuſable in a prince who had come to the throne upon ſuch terms as William had done, and who profeſſed himſelf the ſcourge of tyranny and oppreſſion, to make uſe of ſuch a weapon, and to eſtabliſh his reign over any part of his kingdom in the blood of his unreſiſting ſubjects. If it be thought that I have dwelt too long upon this ſubject, as belonging rather to the hiſtory of Scotland than of Ireland, I muſt obſerve, That as the conteſts of James and William form a great part of the latter hiſtory at this period, ſo any event of moment that can ſtrongly mark the portraits of theſe princes who contended for dominion in Ireland, as in a thea- Dalrymple.

tre cannot with juſtice be deemed improperly mentioned in a work of this nature, any more than an account of a freſh conſpiracy for ſetting the exiled king upon the throne again, to which the principal heads both of the whigs and tories were concérned, and which once more ſhook the throne of the new-raiſed monarch.---

But before we proceed to this account we ſhall take notice that the Iriſh proteſtants in general were much diſſatisfied with the terms granted by Ginkle to their enemies. They complained that they who had ſuffered for their loyalty to William were diſregarded, and obliged to ſit down with loſs, while their enemies were not only pardoned but even indulged; ſince they were diſmiſſed with the honours of war, and permitted to tranſport themſelves into foreign countries.—— Even the Rapparees, who were a ſet of banditti, were honourably provided for, becauſe they had engaged in ſupport of James at the latter end of the war.

Theſe articles had indeed been more favourable to the Iriſh catholics than moſt of the oppoſite party expected, but it is no wonder that William having ſo many other affairs on his hands ſhould be willing to put an end to a war that coſt the Engliſh nation ſuch vaſt ſums of money, and which, notwithſtanding the preſent bad condition of the Iriſh, might yet have been renewed with vigour, if the French had again heartily engaged in their cauſe. The event proved that he was right, for had not favourable terms been granted, it is likely that the arrival of the French ſquadron would have been the means of raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, and giving freſh life and vigour to king James's party in Ireland.

The military articles which were twenty-nine in number provided for the garriſon's enjoying the

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honours of war, for the free permiſſion of ſuch of the Iriſh and French as choſe to tranſport themſelves beyond the ſeas; for the providing of veſſels; for the exchanging of priſoners, and the rendering hoſtages for the performance of thoſe articles; for the diſpatching intelligence to France of the ſurrender of the city; for the intrenchment of both armies after the ſaid ſurrender, to prevent any diſorder which otherwiſe might ariſe; for the rendering up forts, and ſettling the affairs of magazines and priſoners on both ſides; and for the advertiſing the Engliſh and French commanders by ſea and land of the concluſion of this treaty, between whom alſo an immediate ceſſation of arms was to take place.---Such was the chief ſubſtance of the military articles. To the civil ones which were more remarkable, we ſhall give a place at full length in this hiſtory, they are as follows:

The civil articles of Limerick agreed upon, the third day of October, one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one, between the right honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningſby, Eſq; lords juſtices of Ireland; and his excellency the baron de Ginkle, lieutenant general and commander in chief of the Engliſh army, on the one part, and the right honourable Patrick, earl of Lucan, Piercy, viſcount Gallmoy, colonel Nicholas Purcel, colonel Nicholas Cuſack, Sir Toby Butler, colonel Garret Dillon, and colonel John Brown, on the other part, in the behalf of the Iriſh inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and other agreements made between the lord lieutenant, general Ginkle, the governor of the city of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligoe, and Mago.

In conſideration of the ſurrender of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Iriſh army, bearing date with theſe preſents for the ſurrender of the ſaid city, and ſubmiſſion of the ſaid army: it is agreed, That,

Article I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch privileges in the exerciſe of their religion as are conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second. And their majeſties as ſoon as their affairs will permit them to ſummon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the ſaid Roman Catholics ſuch farther ſecurity in that particular, as may preſerve them from any diſturbance, upon the account of their ſaid religion.

Article II. All the inhabitants or reſidents of Limerick or any other garriſon now in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and all officers and ſoldiers now in arms under any commiſſion of king James, or thoſe authoriſed by him, to grant the ſame in the ſeveral counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commiſſioned officers in their majeſties quarters that belong to the Iriſh regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not priſoners of war, or have taken protection, and who ſhall return and ſubmit to their majeſties obedience, and their own and every of their heirs, ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy all and every their eſtates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges, and immunities which they and every or any of them hold, enjoy, or were rightful and lawfully entitled to in the reign of king Charles II. or any time ſince, by the laws and ſtatutes that were in force in the ſaid reign of king Charles II. and ſhall be

be put in poſſeſſion, by order of the government, of ſuch of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any ſuit or trouble therein, and all ſuch eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all arrears of crown-rent, quit -rent, and other public charges incurred, and become due ſince Michaelmas, ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight, to the day of the date hereof. And all perſons comprehended in this article ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and perſonal, to them or any of them belonging and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any perſons whatever, in truſt for, or for the uſe of them, or any of them. And all and every the ſaid perſons, of what profeſſion, trade, or calling ſoever they be, ſhall and may uſe, exerciſe, and practiſe their ſeveral and reſpective profeſſion, trade, or callings as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe and enjoy the ſame in the reign of king Charles the Second, provided that nothing in this article contained be conſtrued to extend to or reſtore any forfeited perſon now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter compriſed.--- Provided alſo, That no perſon whatſoever ſhall have or enjoy the benefit of this article that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the oaths of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the firſt year of the reign of their preſent majeſties, when thereunto required.

Article III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick or of any other garriſon now poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, or any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are abſent beyond ſea, that have not borne arms ſince their majeſties declaration in February ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight, ſhall have the benefit

nefit of the ſecond article in the ſame manner as if they were preſent, provided ſuch merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom, within the ſpace of eight months from the date hereof.

Article IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Euſtace of Yermanſtown, Chievers of Mayſtown, commonly called Mount Leinſter, now belonging to the regiments in the aforeſaid garriſons and quarters of the Iriſh army, who were beyond the ſeas, and ſent thither upon affairs of their reſpective regiments or the army in general, ſhall have the benefit and advantage of the ſecond article, provided they return within the ſpace of eigtht months from the date of theſe preſents, and ſubmit to their majeſties government, and take the above mentioned oath.

Article V. That all and ſingular the ſaid perſons compriſed in the ſecond and third articles ſhall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſons, premunires, felonies, treſpaſſes, and other crimes and miſdemeanors whatſoever, by them or any of them, committed ſince the beginning of the reign of James the Second; and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords juſtices and general will uſe their beſt endeavours to get the ſame repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reverſed, *gratis*, all but writing clerks fees.

Article VI. And whereas theſe preſent wars have drawn on great violence on both parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all ſorts of private actions, the animoſities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public diſturbance loſt. For the quieting and ſettling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding thoſe inconveniencies which would be

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the neceſſary conſequences of the contrary, no perſon or perſons whatſoever compriſed in the foregoing articles, ſhall be ſued, moleſted, or impleaded at the ſuit of any party or parties whatſoever for any treſpaſſes by them committed, or for any arms, horſes, money, goods, chattles, merchandiſes, or proviſions whatſoever by them ſeized or taken during the time of the war.—And no perſon or perſons whatſoever, in the ſecond and third articles compriſed ſhall be uſed, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents, or main rates of any lands, tenements, or houſes by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom ſince the beginning of the preſent war to the day of the date hereof, or for any waſte or treſpaſs by him or them committed in any ſuch lands, tenements, or houſes. And it is alſo agreed, that this article ſhall be mutual and reciprocal on both ſides.

Article VIII. Every nobleman and gentleman compriſed in the ſaid ſecond and third articles ſhall have liberty to ride with a ſword and caſe of piſtols if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houſes for the defence of the ſame, or for fowling.

Article VIII. The inhabitants and reſidents in the city of Limerick and other garriſons ſhall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and proviſions out of the ſame, without being viewed and ſearched, or paying any manner of duties; and ſhall not be compelled to leave the houſes they have now for the ſpace of ſix weeks next enſuing the date hereof.

Article IX. The oath to be adminiſtered to ſuch Roman Catholics as ſubmit to their majeſties government, ſhall be the oath above-ſaid, and no other.

Article

Article X. No perſon or perſons who ſhall at any time hereafter break theſe articles or any of them ſhall thereby make or cauſe any other perſon or perſons to forfeit the benefit of the ſame.

Article XI. The lords juſtices and general do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours that all the perſons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles ſhall be protected and defended from all arreſts and executions for debt or damage for the ſpace of eight months next enſuing the date hereof.

Article XII. Laſtly the lords juſtices and general do undertake that their majeſties will ratify theſe articles within the ſpace of eight months or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

And whereas colonel John Brown ſtood indebted to ſeveral proteſtants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel and lord Lucan took away the effects the ſaid John Brown had to anſwer the ſaid debts, and promiſed to clear the ſaid John Brown of the ſaid debts, which effects were taken for the public uſe of the Iriſh and their army. For freeing the lord Lucan of his ſaid engagement, paſſed on their public account for payment of the ſaid proteſtants; and for preventing the ruin of the ſaid John Brown; and for ſatisfaction of his creditors, at the inſtance of the lord Lucan and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid, it is agreed, That the ſaid lords juſtices and the ſaid baron de Ginkle ſhall intercede with the king and parliament to have the eſtates ſecured to Roman Catholics by article and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with and equally

equally liable to the payment of ſo much of the ſaid debt, as the ſaid lord Lucan upon ſtating accompts with the ſaid John Brown ſhall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the ſaid Brown amount unto, which account is to be ſtated, and the ballance certified by the lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, We have hereunto ſet our hands.

PRESENT.

Scravemore,	Charles Porter,
H. Mackay,	Tho. Conningſby,
T. Talmaſh,	Bar. de Ginkle.

Theſe articles were all of Ginkle's own propoſing.—Of that which allowed the Iriſh to tranſport themſelves beyond the ſeas, above fourteen thouſand men took advantage, conſenting for ever to leave their native land, the nurſe of their early years, to paſs over to other countries where they were unacquainted, and to become for ever the ſubjects of a foreign power, rather than to abandon the full exerciſe of their religion, and the intereſts of their exiled and unhappy ſovereign.

When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hoſtages exchanged for their being duly executed, two thouſand three hundred perſons that choſe to quit the kingdom, began immediately their march for Cork, from whence they intended to embark for France. Three regiments that did not chuſe to quit their country, delivering up their arms, diſperſed to their own habitations.---Such of them as did, who remained at Limerick embarked under convoy of the French fleet, which had arrived in the bay of Dingle, when it was too late to give them aſſiſtance.---On the arrival of the

the Iriſh in France, they were welcomed by a letter from king James, who expreſſing the greateſt gratitude to them for their loyalty, gave them to underſtand that they ſhould ſtill ſerve under his commiſſion and command; and acquainted them that Louis the Fourteenth had already given orders for their being new cloathed, and put into quarters of refreſhment; thus endeavouring at once to ſooth both himſelf and them for the diſappointment they had met with in Ireland.—While on the other hand, king William thought of nothing more than conferring marks of honour and eſteem on ſuch as he loved, and as had ſerved him in the wars of that country; but even in this he could not help exhibiting thoſe evident ſigns of partiality to foreigners, which have ever been diſguſting to the Engliſh as a people; for while general Ginkle was created baron of Athlone, and Rouvigny lord Gallway, Talmaſh and Mackay were forgotten, a circumſtance that hurt the king in the opinion of many, and perhaps upon the whole did more harm than good to thoſe foreigners that were in his ſervice.

Nevertheleſs, while William found the Engliſh in general contented with the reduction of Ireland, he was not of a temper to conſider thoſe matters; and yet his want of obſervation on theſe minuter ſources of diſcontent often wrought both him and his people great uneaſineſs, and was, in effect, one of the chief ſources of thoſe troubles which diſturbed his reign. It was on occaſion of ſuch matters, and of a reſerve peculiar to his climate and temper that many of thoſe who had formerly reſpected and flocked to the ſtandard of the prince of Orange, now deſerted or deſpiſed king William.—They ſaid that he loved not the Engliſh nation:—That he had diſmiſſed

miſſed from his council and commiſſion many of thoſe who had been the firſt to raiſe him to a throne; and that he had overturned that hierarchy in Scotland within an hour which his predeceſſors had for years defended; in ſhort, that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe; and in their hours of ſociety they even proceeded to ridicule his form and addreſs, and to break ſuch malicious jeſts upon his perſon and his country, that inſtead of being ſurpriſed at the hazards he ran of loſing his crown, one would rather wonder that a king ſhould ever keep his ſeat on the throne after becoming the ſcorn and contempt of a great part of the very people that had invited him to take poſſeſſion of it.

With regard to the conduct of the Iriſh at this critical period, it had been ſuch as a diſcerning perſon would have expected from ſuch a people. Thoſe who affect to wonder at it, and thoſe who ſtigmatiſe them with *names* upon this occaſion are either uncandid or injudicious.—— In the beginning of the reign of the firſt Charles they certainly deſerved the name of Rebels, becauſe they acted againſt all authority, except ſuch as themſelves had ſet up, and in the midſt of their profeſſions of reverence to the king's prerogative and the laws of the land, they had in effect overturned both. During the latter part of the ſame king's reign, and the beginning of that of Charles the Second, though avowedly fighting under their prince's banner, yet ſecretly in cabals, and ſometimes openly in negociations they abſolutely acted againſt his intereſt, under the falſe notion of ſeparately ſerving their own.--But in James the Second's time, he being a catholic prince, they were ſincerely attached to his cauſe, for which they ſhewed their zeal, by more bravely and more firmly ſupporting him than

than ever they had done any Engliſh prince ſince the firſt conqueſt of their country. A want of diſcipline indeed, and an impatience of command, which had alway diſtinguiſhed the Iriſh, when warring in their own country, ſometimes marked their conduct in the courſe of theſe civil contentions; but their courage was generally unexceptionable, and there was no reaſon to complain of them till by their king's deſertion they were reduced to ſuch ſtraits as made them declare they would find their reſources in themſelves, as has been already mentioned in this hiſtory.

While king James was alive, and the parliament he called together at Dublin had paſſed acts of forfeiture and attainder againſt thoſe that oppoſed him, it was highly unjuſt to call thoſe *Rebels* who only contended for a conteſted claim. Cox himſelf, the partial, bigotted Cox, owns that even thoſe concerned in the Iriſh maſſacre, ought not to be called by ſuch a name, if they could have produced king Charles's commiſſion for what they did. "Robbers and murderers, he ſays, in ſuch caſe they might be, but rebels they certainly were not."——But the greateſt proof of all is the manner in which William himſelf behaved to them, who, while they were in arms againſt him, conducted the war much in the ſame manner as he would have done againſt a foreign enemy, and when they laid down thoſe arms treated with them, not on terms of independence and equality. Certainly (as a modern writer obſerves) in the opinion of the moſt rigid proteſtants, even of William's party, ſome pity might alſo well be allowed due to men who had been expoſed to forfeiture and death by the Iriſh parliament, unleſs they took part againſt king William, and by the Engliſh parliament if they did.

All

The proceedings in Ireland, in effect tend to prove, that of all hatred religious hatred is the moſt fierce and violent, and that the conteſted claims of princes are the worſt, the moſt terrible evils that can befal a people; maxims which becauſe we have ſeldom ſeen them duly regarded, can therefore never be too often inculcated; and which though the three kingdoms of the Britiſh empire have ſo often ſuffered by religious and by party zeal, ſeem yet often to be miſunderſtood or neglected.

With all theſe diſadvantages, however, William kept the royalty he had obtained, found the means by art to eſtabliſh what force could not effect, and the city of Limerick being ſurrendered upon the articles already mentioned and the Iriſh war by that means ended, he at laſt became maſter of the three kingdoms; a circumſtance which forms a remarkable æra in the courſe of the Iriſh hiſtory.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

BEFORE I proceed to give a farther account of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, I ſhall mention the circumſtances of the plot that was forming in England, which if it had ſucceeded muſt have ſerved to deprive king William of all his three kingdoms at once, and reſtored the exiled prince to the poſſeſſion of them.

The king of France becoming ſenſible of the great advantages he ſhould reap by dethroning William, reſolved now in earneſt to keep the promiſe he had made to his royal gueſt of endeavouring to land him in England at the head of a large body of forces, in order that he might take advantage of the diſcontents that then prevailed in the nation.

James

James having written to ſome of the members of the privy council, and others, containing liberal offers, many perſons of note were brought into a plan for reſtoring him; the officers of the army were diſcontented at the promotion of foreigners among them. The ſeamen, in general, retained an affection for their exiled king, who had been with them, and was always proud of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as their friend. The proteſtant Iriſh were diſſatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, and complained that their advantage had not in many other inſtances been attended to; while the catholics were favoured, who loved James, and ſtill ſecretly brooded over their loſſes, were yet ready to ſacrifice every thing for his ſervice, if ever an opportunity ſhould offer. The Highlanders, and even many of the Lowland Scots were irritated beyond meaſure, at the part they well knew the king had in the murder of Glenco; and the people of all the three kingdoms complained aloud of heavy taxes and money profuſely granted, and as extravagantly expended.

Amidſt all theſe grievances, which the height of party prejudice or perſonal animoſity exaggerated, James and the king of France found it no very difficult matter to tamper even with ſome of the greateſt perſons in William's court. So long before as the year ſixteen hundred and ninety, the former had ſent colonel Bulkely, who was married to the duke of Berwick's daughter, and colonel Sackville, who had been proſecuted for ridiculing the ſuppoſed popiſh plot, over into England, with proper inſtructions to find out how far thoſe who had formerly ſerved him now ſtood affected to his cauſe. Endeavouring firſt to work upon Godolphin, he found that nobleman very much upon the reſerve:---applying himſelf next to Halifax, that lord deſired him

to let Godolphin know his ſentiments. Upon this it is ſaid Godolphin profeſſed his repentance of his connexions with the new king, and wrote to him accordingly, telling his majeſty, he would reſign his employment of firſt lord of the treaſury. William in anſwer deſired him not to do any thing ſo prejudicial to their mutual intereſts, and even this letter was ſhewn to Bulkely.—— Sackville, on his part, tried to win over lord Marlborough, whoſe wife's ſiſter was married to the lord Tyrconnel, and whoſe nephew was the duke of Berwick. This nobleman ſeems by a ſtrange duplicity of conduct, to have made profeſſions he never ſeriouſly thought on, and promiſed ſervices he never meant to perform. Though he was the firſt perſon that gave king James's party in Ireland notice of William's deſign to go over thither, yet by an expedition againſt Cork and Kinſale, which was voluntarily undertaken, he acted as a deſperate enemy to his former maſter's intereſt; while he ever expreſſed ſentiments of great tenderneſs for that unhappy monarch, and always kept terms with his party. He now entered into engagements with Sackville, and even wrote to James, intreating a line from himſelf, and another from the queen, expreſſing their forgiveneſs of his offences; and James was likewiſe at this time, aſſured that the Princeſs Anne would be brought back to her duty by the Lady Marlborough, who had acquired a ſurpriſing aſcendant over her. All he aſked being granted, he ſtill required more. He deſired a power of promiſing parce[illegible] in the late king's name might be veſted in him, alledging that the Lord Shrewſbury, and ſome others whom he named kept aloof, for want only of an aſſurance of being forgiven. This alſo being complied with, Shrewſbury profeſſed his attachment to that Prince, while ſome others choſe

Dalrymple.

to

to play a double part, or ſtand neuter and wait the event of things. The truth is, that at this time, in Great-Britain and in Ireland there were three diſtinct parties; the firſt of which was attached to king William, the ſecond to King James, while the third, who were accounted by many the moſt rational of all, had not in reality ſo ſtrong an attachment to the perſon of either of the Princes as they had to what they conceived was or ought to be the conſtitution of their country. Among theſe were many mentioned above, who now correſponded with their former maſter; not ſo much out of their love to him, or approbation of his government, as from a view of bringing an exiled monarch to grant conceſſions, which William, whatever he had profeſſed, now ſeemed averſe to yielding to, and to deliver the nation from the preſent enormous burden of taxes and the deſtructive proſpect of a civil war in future.

Ruſſel was followed by Admiral Carter in the offer of his ſervices to James, though both theſe officers ſtood upon rigid conditions for the liberty of the ſubject, all which the dethroned monarch was obliged to aſſure them he would grant, though ſuch aſſurances were often not delivered without great reluctance, inſomuch that the King of France himſelf was obliged to interpoſe and obſerve to him "That if he once got poſſeſſion of his throne again, he would yet be likely to meet with more complaiſance from his ſubjects than he was to expect in his preſent ſituation." And the Princeſs Anne having met with very ill treatment from her ſiſter was prevailed on to join the faction, whom it was expected the majority of the church would follow, who had been highly diſpleaſed at the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery in Scotland, and the treatment of the non-juring biſhops whom William had

in his anger deprived of their ſees, and given them to favourites of his own.

The perſon who forwarded theſe negociations in quality of agent to the mal-contents was Captain Lloyd, a rough, brave ſeaman ſtrongly attached to James, and an ardent wiſher of his reſtoration.---In conſequence of the communications of this agent the invaſion of England was determined to be effected by a mighty power from France in the preceding ſpring; for which purpoſe in January the French began to equip two fleets, one at Breſt under D'Etrée, the other at Toulon under M. de Tourville, both which were, when united, to be commanded by the latter officer. ---Twenty thouſand land forces, half of which were Iriſh, were ordered down to the coaſt of Normandy, and all manner of ſuitable preparations were made for the intended expedition.

Nor were the friends of James in England and Scotland idle.---Lancaſhire was provided with eight regiments of horſe and foot; two regiments of horſe were ready in London, and many other parts of the kingdom were equally ripe for inſurrection, though perhaps not equally provided with the means of it. The natives of the Scotch Highlands too well remembered the maſſacre of Glenco not to be in readineſs to take the firſt opportunity of revenging the injuries done their country, and there were not wanting in other parts of that kingdom many ſtaunch friends to the old government that were ſtill willing to hazard their lives and fortunes for the re-eſtabliſhment of their exiled maſter.

Ireland, which the enemies of William complained that inſtead of reforming after he had conquered, he had left a heap of ruins, was ſcarcely thought defenſible by the Lords Juſtices;---they eaſily perceived the agitation of the minds of the people

people, when they beheld them running from place to place, taking journeys into diſtant provinces, and holding ſecret councils and cabals, all which ſeemed to indicate that they thought themſelves upon the eve of ſome great event, and were deviſing how they ſhould contrive to have a ſhare in bringing it about. It was eaſy to imagine that their affections were not yet weaned from their old maſter, and this was ſufficient to alarm their new one. However, as their country was not intended for the theatre of war, all they could do was to ſit ſtill for the preſent, and wait till ſome favourable turn might once more put it in their power to avow their old ſentiments and connexions.

But to crown all his preparations, James (who had previouſly addreſſed a letter to the lords of council, inviting them and many ladies of diſtinction to St. Germain's, where the queen being with child, he wiſhed them to attend her labour, in order to refute the ſcandal of her barrenneſs) now circulated a declaration calculated to induce his former ſubjects to declare in his favour. He therein told them, that by the help of his ally the king of France, he ſhould make one effort more for the recovery of his crown, yet, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance which he was promiſed from that quarter, he did not mean to deprive his good ſubjects of contributing to his reſtoration and that of their ancient conſtitution. He gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that his auxiliaries ſhould be kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and ſent back to France, as ſoon as ever the end which they came for ſhould be compaſſed. He ſaid, that he had, at the firſt arrival of the prince of Orange in his territories, rather choſen to rely upon the aid of his own countrymen, than that of the foreign troops, that were ſo liberally offered him; that when he was in a condition to oppoſe force with force, he

had offered his ſubjects all reaſonable ſatisfaction. —He obſerved, that when afterwards ſeeing himſelf betrayed and abandoned by his people, his army, his miniſters and even his own family; when he had been driven out of his own palace, and compelled to take refuge in France, they had conſtrued this his retreat for ſafety into a neighbouring country, as an abdication of his throne, and a convention illegally aſſembled, that had no right to alter the property, even of the meaneſt ſubject, had, on that pretence, contrived to deſtroy the fundamentals of the conſtitution. He added, that it was to be hoped the eyes of the nation were by this time opened, to the enormous expences they had lately incurred, a conſideration of itſelf ſufficient to evince, that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe, wiſhing them alſo to conſider, that even though the uſurpation ſhould endure for the term of his natural life, yet his title would ſurvive in his offspring, and ſubject the nation to the calamity of a civil war. On theſe accounts he exhorted and commanded all his good ſubjects to repair to his ſtandard, according, as he ſaid, to the tenor of their oaths and bounden duty, by way of form, forbidding them to pay any taxes for the ſupport of the uſurper, at the ſame time promiſing a free pardon to all ſoldiers, as well as others, who would quit his ſervice, engaging that they ſhould be paid their arrears, and that the foreign troops upon laying down their arms, ſhould be likewiſe paid and ſafely tranſported into their different countries. He proteſted, that he would maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, in all its rights, though he expreſſed his intention of uſing his influence with parliament for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. Knowing the Engliſh to be jealous of their privileges of trade, James took care to obſerve, that he meant to reſtore their

commerce

commerce by enforcing a due obſervation of the navigation act, which had been of late moſt ſhamefully violated, adding, that he would uſe his endeavours to put the navy upon a moſt reſpectable footing, and to do every thing elſe that might contribute to the happineſs and grandeur of the nation. And after having made all theſe offers, in concluſion he declared himſelf entirely reſigned to the divine will, on his part, whilſt he reminded his ſubjects, that ſuch of them as ſhould refuſe his offers and appear in arms againſt him, after he had ſo fully communicated his intentions, would certainly be anſwerable in the ſight of heaven, for all the blood that might in future be ſhed upon the occaſion.

It appears from many circumſtances that James promiſed himſelf much from this declaration, and indeed had he been landed in England, at the time he made it, it is probable he would not have been deceived, for how much ſoever the parliament and people were inclined to ſlight his remonſtrances when firſt he quitted his kingdom, it is evident from their demeanour afterwards, that the multitude had altered their minds, ſome becauſe they were diſappointed in their expectations of William's government, but a much greater number becauſe they were ſo in his diſtribution of places and honours. But what was moſt peculiar in this circumſtance was, that the whigs in general deſerted William, who thereupon threw himſelf into the arms of the tories, and perhaps thought himſelf not very ſafe with either party. However by the vigilence of the miniſtry the effects of James's declaration were in a great meaſure prevented. Preparations were made in England for the reception of the invaders; orders were iſſued for all the ſeamen of the nation to offer themſelves for the royal ſervice, on pain of incurring puniſhment if they refuſed;

he

the different ſquadrons of ſhips then abroad were ordered to return home. A certain number of veſſels were deſtined to obſerve the enemy's motions, and to watch them in their ports and harbours. The old ſhips were repaired and new ones conſtructed, both in England and Holland, and the command of both which fleets was reſted in admiral Ruſſel, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions that had ariſen of his correſpondence with James, the repeated warnings that had been given the court of the danger of entruſting ſuch a power in his hands. The militia was raiſed all over England, and papiſts were commanded to remove themſelves to the diſtance of ten miles from the capital, Scotland was amply provided for defence, and, in ſhort, every thing was attended to that could ſecure Great-Britain; Ireland alone was neglected, moſt probably for the reaſon given by a modern author; namely, becauſe it was deemed impoſſible to ſecure it.

Dalrymple.

While theſe things were going forward, the court of England, as if reſolved to do every thing which might contribute to its own diſadvantage was purchaſing to itſelf enemies, at the deareſt rate imaginable.—Not to mention the impriſonment of Marlborough, the grounds for which we have already related, and that of other noblemen, the princeſs Anne, preſumptive heir to the crown, who had waved her right of ſucceſſion, in favour of her brother in law, had her guards taken from her, and was loaded with every diſgrace that her ſiſter durſt, and more than in common prudence ſhe ought to have ventured to caſt upon her. Uneaſineſſes and heart-burnings were every where increaſed, and in ſhort, the whole nation was in ſuch a ferment, that had James once been landed in England at the head of his French allies, there is not much doubt but he might have been reſtored to the throne,

throne, while William was abroad ſpending the blood of his ſubjects in thoſe wars in which their connexions with him could alone have engaged them.

But a variety of accidents effectually prevented James from ever making the experiment.—The Engliſh, highly alarmed, had made proviſions in proportion to their danger, and three of their ſquadrons being joined by the Dutch fleet, all rendezvouſed at St. Helen's, and ſoon found themſelves in a condition to ſail out and meet the enemy, who was then put out to ſea, in queſt of them.——It was on the nineteenth day of May, in the year ſixteen hundred and ninety-two, that theſe two great armaments met. Tourville, whoſe force was inferior to the combined fleets in the proportion of fifty to ninety-nine, yet being reſolved to exert every nerve on this deciſive occaſion, and having received poſitive orders to fight from his court, who were ignorant of his real ſituation, bore down with great boldneſs upon the enemy.—The two admirals ſhips meeting, a fierce engagement enſued, which laſted for an hour and a half, till at length, that of Tourville received ſo much damage as obliged her to be towed off, while ſeveral other large French ſhips cloſed in to favour the retreat. It was now that the Engliſh force firſt prevailed, it was now that the French admiral perceived the raſhneſs of that conduct, which had urged him to commence an engagement he might have avoided, contrary to the opinion of his moſt experienced officers. Nevertheleſs the engagement continued all day, the French maintaining a running fight all the afternoon, and at night the Engliſh, Dutch and French fleets anchored cloſe to each other off the coaſt of France; the next morning the latter having ſuſtained a conſiderable damage, four ſhips being blown up, and many others having deſerted them, fled

fled along their own ſhores, purſued by the Engliſh and Dutch. Tourville's ſhip and two others took refuge at Cherburg, eighteen others following their example near la Hague; and ſeveral more eſcaped through the race of Alderney. On the fifth day, Ruſſel prepared to deſtroy ſuch of the enemy's veſſels as had run a ground, while the French, on the other hand, whoſe army was drawn up on ſhore, raiſed platforms mounted with artillery, and took every poſſible meaſure to defend them, excepting only that they did not follow a very good piece of advice, that king James, who was preſent gave them, which was to put a number of the regiments on board the veſſels that were run on ſhore, an expedient that would have been the moſt likely of any to have preſerved them from the fury of the Engliſh, who in the end, excited by a ſpirit of revenge, equal to their former fears and terrors; prevailed ſo far as to reduce the moſt of them to aſhes.

The exiled king had the mortification to ſee them deſtroyed, and with them his beſt hopes of re-aſcending the Britiſh throne. After this diſappointment he retired to the monaſtery of La Trappe, and the Engliſh returned to their own country, where they were received with all the applauſe and rewards which the government thought juſtly belonged to all thoſe who had any ſhare in a victory of ſo much importance.

Notwithſtanding this defeat it is true that ſeveral attempts were made to reinſtate this family, both by their adherents at home and their friends abroad, but all proving abortive, the ſucceſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed, in the proteſtant line, upon revolution principles, as is well known to the generality of our readers.

It will doubtleſs be remarked here by many, that it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that the admirals

Ruſſel

Ruſſel and Carter, whom we have mentioned as correſponding with James, ſhould contribute ſo much to the deſtruction of the fleet of his allies; and this, together with ſome other circumſtances, has occaſioned many hiſtorians to conclude that their tranſactions with the exiled monarch, were known to William and countenanced by him, with a view to get the more ready poſſeſſion of the ſecret counſels of his rival. Yet, upon an examination of the matter, I do not find that there are proofs ſufficient to authoriſe ſuch a concluſion.

On the whole, perhaps Ruſſel whoſe example was followed by Carter, joined the malecontents partly becauſe he was diſſatisfied with ſome parts of William's conduct, and partly becauſe, as Dalrymple obſerves, he thought it likely that the nation might get better terms by effecting the reſtoration of an exiled monarch, than they could expect by ſupporting a prince already upon the throne. It is likewiſe added, that in the midſt of his connexions with James, he repeatedly warned that unfortunate prince to prevent the Engliſh and French fleet from meeting in a hoſtile manner, declaring that if he encountered the armament of the enemy, he ſhould hold it his duty to fire upon the firſt French ſhip, even though he ſhould ſee king James upon the quarter deck; at the ſame time to ſhew the ſincerity of his promiſes of favouring his cauſe, he made him two propoſals, one of which was, to delay the purpoſed invaſion, the other to accompliſh it in his abſence; on which account, the admiral abſolutely aſked leave of the Engliſh government to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of France, to ſhew that he was in earneſt in his propoſals,—But James either from motives of policy or from a principle of falſe ſhame, concealed theſe intimations of Ruſſel from M. de Tourville, who knowing

knowing the admiral's correſpondence with that prince, at the ſame time that he was ignorant of his utter averſion to his allies, miſſing of the French veſſels which were charged with orders for him not to engage, boldly bore down upon the Engliſh fleet, imagining in all probability that the inferiority of his numbers might be outweighed by the chance he had of being favoured by the Britiſh admiral, and many of his captains. But Ruſſel acting on the principles we have mentioned above, baffled all his deſigns, and with a fleet ſo ſuperior to the enemy, obtained (as what could he elſe) an abſolute victory.—The ſword being thus drawn, he was obliged to throw away the ſcabbard;---and the compliments he received upon his conqueſt—compliments of all others the moſt flattering to an Engliſhman---fixed him for ever to the ſide of William, who perhaps, wiſely enough overlooked his vaſt intended defection, when he conſidered how much he ſtood in need of his preſent friendſhip; and as to his countenancing the correſpondence carried on with James, the proofs which time has brought to light, ſeem to indicate the contrary; for though this method of dealing was not at all unnatural to that artful monarch, yet the concern the court expreſſed, the number of perſons they cauſed to be ſeized, the many precautions they took, and even the unconſtitutional authority they exerted at this juncture, may well incline us to determine, there was much more carrying on, than they were privy to, though it is poſſible that after all was over they affected a myſterious knowledge of tranſactions they were really ignorant of—However theſe things were, it is certain, that the intended invaſion filled all the lands with fears and anxieties, of which the court itſelf partook likewiſe. But as it has ever been the cuſtom of the Engliſh to riſe ſuperior to paſt misfortunes, ſo when this ſtorm was blown over

over, moſt of theſe fears were denied, every man perſuading his neighbour and being willing to perſuade himſelf that he was not frightened at all.--- A circumſtance among the reſt, which may, in ſome meaſure, account for the confidence which ſome would have us believe the government expreſſed upon this occaſion.

With this invaſion expired every rational hope the Iriſh catholics could form to themſelves of ſeeing their intereſt again eſtabliſhed in that country.——They ſubmitted therefore to a government they hated, and William found no more trouble with them during the reſt of his reign.

On the ſixteenth of September, in the year ſeventeen hundred, king James died at St. Germains--- Since he had ſeen his attempts for the recovery of the throne of his anceſtors defeated, he led a life of piety and peace. He generally diverted himſelf with hunting; but the ſerious part of his concern was devotion. He often repaired to the monaſtery of La Trappe and the monks of that auſtere order are ſaid to have been much edified by his pious converſation. In his laſt ſickneſs he conjured his ſon to prefer the conſideration of religion even to that of a crown. He declared that he moſt ſincerely forgave the prince of Orange and all his enemies. He expired with great tokens of reſignation, and was buried, at his own requeſt, without any funeral ſolemnity, in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines at Paris.---Thus died a prince who had by his own raſhneſs and blind zeal loſt a crown, which he was born to inherit, and which had he followed the dictates of ſound policy and right reaſon, he might have worn unmoleſted till his death and reſigned to his ſucceſſor in peace ---inſtead of which he bequeathed to his deſcendants, the ruined remains of unſupported royalty, and to his people the dreadful conſequences of a diſputed

Death of K. James II.

diſputed title, which hath more than once involved them in inteſtine broils and the miſeries of civil war.——James while he ſat upon the throne ſeems to have been, a prince of great obſtinacy and ſeverity, of ſtill greater bigotry, and moſt ſtrongly attached to the notion of kingly prerogative in its fulleſt extent, which notions he never attempted to conceal. He was not without his virtues, but theſe at ſuch a time as he lived in, it was impoſſible for party rage to ſuffer to be diſtinguiſhed. But when he was driven from his throne, when all his hopes were ruined, then only thoſe good qualities which he poſſeſſed grew more apparent, and many others appeared which perhaps he never had exerted before. That perſonal courage indeed for which he had been remarked in his proſperity, was no longer to be diſcerned, but fortitude, conſtancy and piety, were found to ſucceed in its room; whereby he was perhaps made happier in his retirement than ever he had been upon a throne. In ſhort, though James was a bad prince, if we conſider him as reigning over a free people, he ſeems to have had the requiſites for a good man, if we regard him only as in the private walk of life.

His rivil did not long ſurvive him, for on the twenty-firſt day of February ſucceeding, his conſtitution being much exhauſted with fatigue, as he was riding from Hampton Court to Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and he being violently thrown to the ground fractured his collar-bone, which fracture however was reduced by his ſurgeon, when he was conveyed to Hampton Court; but as he returned to Kenſington in his coach, the two ends of the fractured bone were disjointed, which however were replaced by his phyſician.

On the fourth of March, William was ſo well recovered as to be able to walk in the gallery at Kenſington. But ſitting down on a couch

couch, he fell aſleep, and was afterwards ſeized with a fever and diarrhæa. On the ſixth he was ſo weak that he could not write, and was obliged to apply a ſtamp to the bills brought for his aſſent, and two days afterwards he expired, in the fifty ſecond year of his age, having ſurvived his conſort ſeven years, and being himſelf ſurvived by his favourite the duke of Portland.

Thus died King William III. He had a thin and weak body, his hair brown and his conſtitution delicate; he had a Roman eagle noſe, bright and ſparkling eyes, a large front and a countenance compoſed to gravity and authority; all his ſenſes were critical and exquiſite; he was always aſthmatical, and the dregs of the ſmall pox falling on his lungs, he had a conſtant deep cough; his behaviour was ſolemn and ſerious, ſeldom chearful, and but with a few; he ſpoke little and very ſlowly, and moſt commonly with a diſguſting dryneſs, which was his character at all times except in a day of battle, for then he was all fire though without paſſion, and was every where and looked to every thing; he had no great advantage from his education; De Witt's diſcourſes were of great uſe to him, and he being apprehenſive of the obſervations of thoſe who were looking narrowly into every thing he ſaid or did, had brought himſelf under an habitual caution that he could never ſhake off, though in another ſcene it proved as hurtful as it was then neceſſary to his affairs; he ſpoke Dutch, French, Engliſh and German equally well, and he underſtood the Latin, Spaniſh and Italian, ſo that he was well fitted to command armies compoſed of ſeveral nations; he had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him; he was an exact obſerver of men and things; his ſtrength lay rather in a true diſcerning and ſound judgment than in imagination and in-

vention; his deſigns were always great and good, but it was thought he truſted too much to that, and did not deſcend enough to the humours of his people to make himſelf more acceptable; he loved the Dutch and was much beloved by them; but the ill returns he met with from the Engliſh nation, their jealouſies of him, and their perverſeneſs towards him, had too much ſoured his mind and had much alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, though he ſaw the ill effects this had upon his buſineſs.

The oppoſing the reſtleſs ambition of France was his prevailing paſſion through life, and indeed he appeared to be a man raiſed up by God to reſiſt the tyranny of that power. He knew all foreign affairs well, and underſtood the ſtate of every court in Europe very particularly; he inſtructed his miniſters himſelf, but did not apply enough to affairs at home; he tried how he could govern us by balancing the two parties one againſt another, but he came at laſt to be perſuaded that the tories were irreconcileable to him, and he was reſolved to try and truſt them no more; he believed the truth of the Chriſtian religion very firmly, and he expreſſed an horror at atheiſm and blaſphemy; and though there was much of both at his court yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of ſight; he was moſt exemplary decent and devout in the public exerciſes of the worſhip of God, only on week days he came too ſeldom to them; he was an attentive hearer of ſermons and conſtant in private prayers and in reading the ſcriptures, and when he ſpoke of religious matters, which he did not often, it was with a becoming gravity; he was much poſſeſſed with the belief of abſolute decree, becauſe he did not ſee how the belief of providence could be maintained upon any other ſuppoſition. His indifference as to the forms of church government,

and

and his zeal for toleration, diſguſted the clergy. It was the hard fate of King William, that to ſave liberty, religion, Holland, England, and all Europe, except France, he was obliged to injure the relations of nature; could his heart have been looked into, perhaps it might have been found, that he felt the cruelty of this neceſſity much more than thoſe who complain of him for not reſiſting it. King William received much bad uſage from the nation he had ſaved; he bore it all ſteady to the great general good, unfeeling only to the injuries done himſelf.

There was a ſimplicity, an elevation, a utility in all the actions of his life; the laſt treaty which he ſigned was the grand alliance; the laſt act of parliament he paſſed was one which completed the Hanover ſucceſſion, and it is hoped, fixed for ever the happy conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland.

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